OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume X.

COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
FRED. J. HEER.

PREFATORY NOTE TO VOLUME X.

THE tenth volume of the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which is herewith issued in book form, includes the quarterlies of the Society previously published as numbers 1 and 2 for July and October, 1901, and numbers 3 and 4 for January and April, 1902.

The material put forth in this volume is sufficiently indicated in the table of contents. The authoritative character of the articles is satisfactorily evidenced by the names of the writers. It is the aim of the Publication Committee to publish no article except upon some subject worthy of permanent preservation and heretofore not exhausted by other writers. Also, that the contributor shall be some one of acknowledged scholarly attainments and possessed of reliable information. The demand for the publications of the Society increases greatly each year. They are now sent to many of the leading libraries of the country, as well as to most of the prominent historical societies. These volumes, however, it should be distinctly understood, though published under the auspices of the State, are not for gratuitous and miscellaneous distribution as are many of the reports of the state departments. We think it is pertinent to remark here that these publications give ample testimony of the valuable work the Society is accomplishing, and of the personal interest and efficient care and direction given its affairs by the Trustees and Officers.

E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary.*

Columbus, Ohio, April, 1902.

INDEX TO VOLUME X.

	PAGE
Monument on the Site of Fort Washington	1
Rev. L. B. Gurley, D. D. By N. B. C. Love	21
The Battle of Lake Erie. By Mrs. John T. Mack	38
Fremont in History. By Miss Julia M. Haynes	49
Prehistoric Earthworks of Richland County. By A. J. Baughman	67
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Society	72
Report of the Curator of the Society. By W. C. Mills	78
Ohio Day at Pan-American Exposition (July 18, 1901)	123
Colonel Thomas Cresap. By Mrs. Mary Louise Cresap Stevenson	146
Introduction of Methodism in Ohio. By Rev. I. F. King, D. D	165
The Firelands Historical Society. By Rush R. Sloane, President	220
Ohio, The Site of the Garden of Eden	225
President William McKinley	232
Genealogy of William McKinley. By Rev. A. Stapleton	236
The Shaker Community of Warren County. By J. P. MacLean, Ph. D	251
The Pioneer Poet Lawyer. By N. B. C. Love, D. D	305
The Siege of Fort Meigs. By H. W. Compton	315
John A. Bingham. Address of Hon. J. B. Foraker	331
Thomas Morris. By James B. Swing	352
Lake County and its Founder. By William Stowell Mills, LL. B	361
The Revolutionary Soldier in the Valley of the Little Miami. By William Albert Galloway	372
St. Clair's Defeat. By Frazer E. Wilson	378
Mound Builders' Fort Within Toledo's Limits. By S. S. Knabenshue	381
The Sorrow of the Nations. By John P. Smith	385
Ohio in Early History and During the Revolution. By E. O. Randall, Ph. B., L. L. M	395
The Firelands Grant. By Clarence D. Laylin	435
Frontispiece — Adena Mound	451
Excavations of the Adena Mound. By William C. Mills, B. Sc	452
Some Errors Corrected. By Charles E. Slocum, M. D., Ph. D	480
Notes — Geographical. By R. W. McFarland, LL. D	486
The Great Seal of Ohio. By S. S. Knabenshue	489
Editorialana — E. O. Randall,	
Land Bill Allen	98
Northwest Under Three Flags	101
Blennerhasset Redivivus	119
Dream of Empire	120
Early History of Auglaize County	120

PAGE

Ohio Educational Monthly 121
Ohio Society S. A. R. 121
William McKinley 244
Israel Williams 249
Soldiers in the American Revolution 250
Historical Studies 388
"The Sign of the Prophet" 389
Blennerhassett Again 390
The Great Seal of Ohio 392
Harpers Monthly and Serpent Mound 393
Pioneers of Fairfield County 394
Tablet on Serpent Mound 492
Bonaparte Almost a Buckeye 494
"The Scotch-Irish in America" 496
"Records of the Past" 497
"Down Historic Water Ways" 497
"Story of the Western Reserve" 498
Honorary and Life Members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society 499

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR VOLUME X.

	PAGE
Location of Fort Washington	2
Plat of Fort Washington	3
L. B. Gurley	21
Mrs. I. E. Lawrence	46
Col. Geo. Groghan	49
"Land Bill" Allen	98
North America in 1650 (Map)	104
North America in 1750	107
Ohio Building at Buffalo	123
John Eisenmann	124
Hon. C. L. Swain	124
Hon. W. S. McKinnon	126
Hon. S. L. Patterson	144
Flag of the State of Ohio	144
Cresap's House in 1770	150
John Wesley	166
Barbara Heck	167
Francis Asbury	168
Peter Cartwright	175
Cabin of the Rev. R. R. Roberts	176
The First Methodist Meeting-House in Ohio	186
Rev. William Nast, D. D	188
White Brown's Barn	189
First Methodist Church in Columbus, O	209
Diagram of Ohio Conferences 1901 (Map)	210
Asbury on Horseback	218
President William McKinley	243
Oliver C. Hampton	252
Meeting House of Shakers (looking north)	266
Exterior View of Office of Shakers	283
Largest Residence Center Family of Shakers	288
New Cow Barn of Shakers	291
Rev. Jos. R. Slingerland	300
Eliz. Downing	303
Mary G. Gass	303
Emily Robinson	303
Fort Meigs (Map)	316
Hon. John A. Bingham	332
The Bingham Monument	337
Hon. J. B. Foraker	350

PAGE

Monument of Gen. Paine 362
Mound Builders' Fort within Toledo Limits 382
Land Grants and Charters (Map) 423
Greenville Treaty Line (Map) 429
First Divisions of Northwest Territory 432
Firelands (Map) 443
Excavations of the Adena Mound —
Adena Mound 451
Figure 1 453
Figure 2 456
Figure 3 457
Figure 4 457
Figure 5 458
Figure 6 458
Figure 7 458
Figure 8 459
Figure 9 459
Figure 10 461
Figure 11 461
Figure 12 462
Figure 13 463
Figure 14 463
Figure 15 464
Figure 16 464
Figure 17 465
Figure 18 466
Figure 19 468
Figure 20 469
Figure 21 470
Figure 22 470
Figure 23 471
Figure 24 471
Figure 25 473
Figure 26 474
Figure 27 475
Figure 28 476
Figure 29 477
Figure 30 478
Fort Defiance 481
Great Seal of Ohio 1863 489
Present Seal of Ohio 489

OHIO

Archaeological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

MONUMENT ON THE SITE OF FORT WASHINGTON.

Ceremonies at the Unveiling of Monument, 1789–1808.

The monument erected in Third street, between Broadway and Ludlow street, in Cincinnati, to mark the site of Fort Washington, was unveiled on June 14. It was erected by a committee, representing patriotic societies in Ohio, as follows:

Mayflower Descendants—Mrs. Frank J. Jones, Mr. Herbert Jenney, Mr. W. H. Doane.

Colonial Dames of America—Mrs. M. Morris White, Miss Anna K. Lewis, Miss Fanny Bryce Lehmer.

Colonial Wars—Mr. J. W. Bullock, Mr. N. Henchman Davis, Mr. Howard S. Winslow.

Cincinnati Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution—Mrs. Brent Arnold, Mrs. Frank W. Wilson, Mrs. Peirce J. Cadwalader.

Cincinnati Chapter Sons of American Revolution—Dr. George A. Thayer.

Sons of the Revolution—Dr. William Judkins, Dr. Andrew Kemper, Mr. Robert Ralston Jones.

Cincinnati Chapter Children of the American Revolution—Mrs. Lowell F. Hobart.

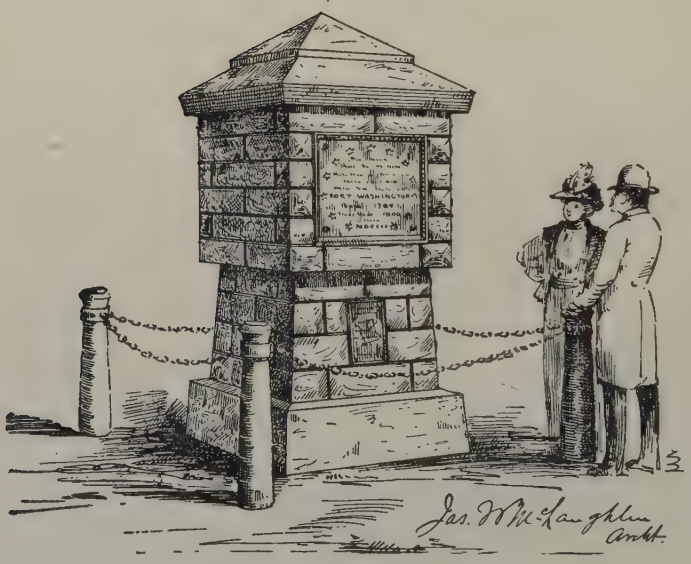
War of 1812—Mrs. T. L. A. Greve.

Loyal Legion—Major W. H. Chamberlain, Col. W. A. Cochran, Col. A. W. McCormick.

There are upon the monument two tablets; upon the upper one is the following inscription, surrounded by thirteen stars.

This Tablet
Erected by the Patriotic
Societies of Ohio
Marks the Location of
Fort Washington
Built 1789
Demolished 1808

MDCCCC



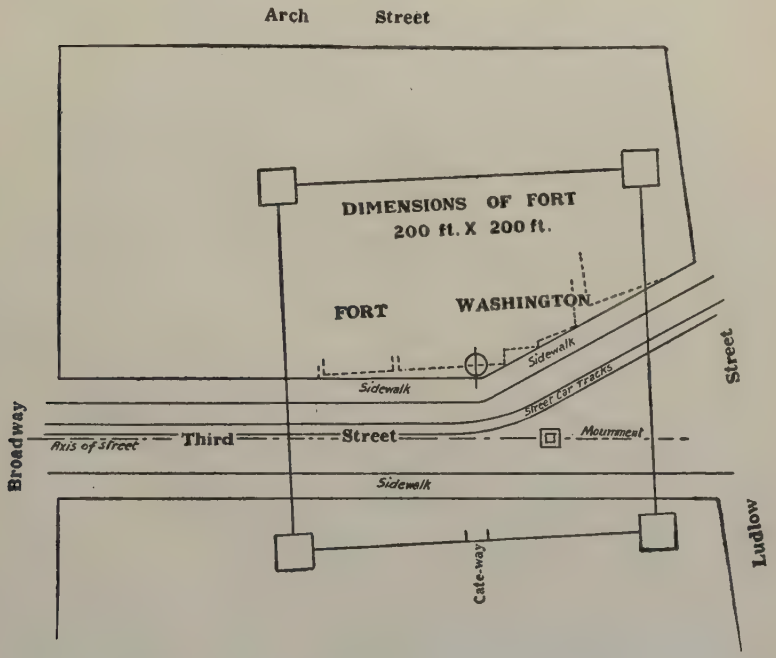
Upon the lower tablet is a plan, showing the location of Fort Washington with reference to the neighboring streets, drawn by Mr. Robert Ralston Jones, of the U. S. Engineer's office of Cincinnati.

Bugle Call—"Reveille," by the buglers of 2nd U. S. I.
Star Spangled Banner, by the band of the 1st Reg. O. N. G.
Prayer, by Rev. George A. Thayer.

Mr. Herbert Jenney, chairman of the committee, said in introducing General Cowen:

To-day has no significance in the history of Fort Washington, but it is our National Flag Day, the anniversary of the day—June 14, 1777—on which the American Congress in session at Philadelphia, established by its resolution,

That" the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white: that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."



Although the independence of the states had been declared nearly a year before, this resolution is the first recorded legislative action relating to a national flag for the new sovereignty.

The thirteen stripes were not a new feature; the flag of the thirteen united colonies raised at Washington's headquarters at Cambridge January 2, 1776, had the thirteen stripes as they are to-day, but it also had the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground in the corner.

There is said to be no satisfactory evidence that any flag bearing the union of the stars had been in public use before June, 1777.

It is a pleasant incident, that through the courtesy of the Cincinnati Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, we have with us to-day a fac-simile of the flag which was displayed on January 2, 1776, from Washington's headquarters at Cambridge, and it is another pleasing incident that the committee has been able to arrange for the ceremonies of the unveiling of the monument before you to take place on the first "Flag Day" in the twentieth century.

There are two prominent jurisdictional periods in the history of the United States Reservation, bounded by Broadway, Fourth street, Ludlow street and the river, in which Fort Washington was built, and within the lines of the fort we are now assembled. The first of these two periods was the jurisdiction of the United States. It seemed eminently fitting to the committee that the one to speak to you to-day should be officially connected with our National Government, and one has been chosen who served in the War of 1861-5, was brevetted Brigadier-General U. S. Volunteers, was granted leave of absence to become Adjutant General of Ohio, and did more than any other individual to place the "one hundred day men" from the State of Ohio so promptly and well equipped in the field as to merit and receive the commendation of the War Department; then he became Assistant Secretary of the Interior during General Grant's administration, and was Special agent of Indian affairs in the West, is now a member of the Order of the Loyal Legion, and the very efficient Clerk of the United States Circuit and District Courts in the Southern District of Ohio; the records of proceedings had in that Circuit Court in 1829 locate the site of Fort Washington.

It is with great pleasure that the committee presents to you General Benjamin Rush Cowen, who will tell us what the monument before us means, and what it is to us.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL COWEN.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I congratulate you on account of the auspicious circumstances under which we meet here this afternoon to assist in the performance of a patriotic duty. Our national condition is such as to justify expressions of pride and displays of patriotism. The remarkable achievements of our fleets and armies have excited the wonder and admiration of brave men the world around, and have exalted this Nation into a great world power with which other nations have found it necessary to reckon in their future schemes of conquest. In military and naval prowess, in diplomacy and statecraft, in wise and sagacious legislation, in productive industries and in methods for the promotion of the greatest good to the greatest number, we stand to-day a united Nation, at peace with all the world, the peer of the proudest, the champion and exemplar of the rights of man and the ripe product of a true civilization.

From this standpoint, as we look backward across a hundred years of our history to the event which calls us here to-day, let us strive to evoke some useful lessons from the successive steps in our evolution.

If it be true as was said by a Grecian writer twenty-three centuries ago, that "History is philosophy teaching by examples," we should be able to evolve from the scenes enacted in, and the influences which radiated from this place a hundred years ago an entire system of ethical philosophy. Looked at from the standpoint of this day of great things the Fort Washington of 1789 may seem a trifling and unimportant incident in the history of a nation now in the very front rank of the world powers. But that was a time of beginnings, of experiments in government, of doubt, even whether this was really to become a nation in the later and larger sense of the word.

Fort Washington at the time of its erection was the most considerable military post in the Northwestern Territory. It marked the dividing line between the conditions of our country; between civilization of the East and the barbarism of the unknown West. Its importance is indicated by the fact that three of the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army of the United States

were stationed here from time to time. During the occupancy of the fort it was the scene of the most important military operations of the time. From this point was organized and sent out the unfortunate expedition of Josiah Harmar in 1790, against the hostile tribes of the Northwest. Here, also, in the following year the army was organized, and equipped under Arthur St. Clair, which met with the disastrous defeat on the banks of the Wabash, and it was this fort the survivors of that ill-fated expedition sought, in their humiliation, as a city of refuge.

From here in 1794 went out that other army under the hero of Stony Point, the "lion hearted," "Mad Anthony Wayne," Commander-in-Chief, an army of 2000 regulars and 1500 Kentucky militiamen, by which the decisive battle with the allied tribes of the Northwest at Maumee Rapids was fought and won.

I say that battle was decisive, because it gave peace to an exposed line of frontier extending from Fort Pitt to the southern boundary of Tennessee, and in fact it marked the close of the revolutionary war; because the Indians who took part with Great Britian in that struggle never laid down their arms until the great victory of 1794.

After that victory we find in command here a young Virginia subaltern who had been a staff officer of Wayne, in his campaign of 1794, and who filled a larger place in the public eye for the next forty years, as a successful soldier, secretary and governor of Indiana Territory, member of Congress, United States Senator and President of the United States, William Henry Harrison, whose descendants have honored his illustrious name and lineage.

Here came the gallant hero of "Old Vincennes," George Rogers Clarke, who did so much to make the frontier a safe dwelling place and who, to our shame be it said, died in poverty and obscurity.

From this point went out with the Wayne expedition Rufus Putnam, of noble lineage and honorable memory as soldier and jurist whose posterity to this day arise to call him blessed.

But it is a task beyond my power to perform and it would overtax your patience were I to attempt to name all, or many of those who bore a part in the stirring scenes enacted here

in that early time. With those who fell in battle and those who fell in single-handed fights with the savage foe, many hundreds in number, they are for the most part the unknown heroes and martyrs who with no hope of fame or gain gave their lives as a witness to the pervading love of country and of kind.

Now that a century has elapsed and our country has become great beyond the wildest dreams of those who built Fort Washington and defended this frontier will not the memory of their daring and suffering revive in our hearts the love of country and of all who live within our boundaries?

To find the lessons which this event has for men of to-day we must look beyond the mere incident which this monument is designed to commemorate to find if possible the causes which made the labors of those men productive of such grand results.

Fort Washington was a way-station, so to speak, in the rapid triumphal march of our civilization athwart the continent, which, beginning at tide water on the Atlantic early in the seventeenth century, is now, at the dawn of the twentieth century, pluming itself for further and bolder flights westward from the vantage ground of the Pacific slope. So rapid was that movement that whereas at the time of building Fort Washington the center of population was at tide water at Baltimore, only sixty years later it was within a mile of this spot.

The men who built and those who garrisoned the fort and those who went from here to drive a savage foe from our borders were no mere carpet knights. They realized the needs of the times and went direct to their object. They did not stop to discuss any theories as to the "consent of the governed," but, recognizing the fact that this fair land was destined to be the home of a civilized people, they proceeded direct to their purpose, which was to remove every obstacle that lay in the way of that consummation.

They were pioneers of that civilization which, in all lands and under all conditions is most masterful. Wherever they plant the foot the latest progress in science and art springs up, wherever they plant their home all that is best in our latter day civilization takes root and grows and flourishes.

Most of those men had passed through the hardships of the colonial wars or of the revolution and had profited by that experience. They were at once yeomen, soldiers and statesmen; living epistles of a new faith and fit founders of a new system of government "of the people, by the people and for the people." In this faith they lived and in it many of them died. The honor of their achievement is this country and its institutions which we enjoy. The fruit of their efforts is our glorious heritage.

Did time permit I might tell in fuller detail how those men braved the dangers of the forest and subdued it to the uses of an advanced civilization; how civil order prevailed even before there was any semblance of organized power by which the various functions of government could be exercised. Such was in fact their self-governing capacity that, with none of the ordinary appliances for the maintenance of private and public rights they held them secure and gave of their scanty means for their support. Jealousy of power and envy of the superiority were subordinated to considerations of public and private good, insuring submission to laws intended only for their own happiness.

Not only did these men do battle with the forces of nature and establish a stable government, they fought and destroyed the savage tribes, their predecessors in the ownership and occupancy of the soil, without a thought of any effort at "benevolent assimilation." This latter was by no means the least of their achievements. From Massasoit, King Philip and Powhatan down to Ouray, Sitting Bull and Geronimo every generation and every nation of Indians has produced men of mark. The Narragansets, the Pequods and the Iroquois are extinct, King Philip, Powhatan, Red Jacket, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Logan, Black Hawk, Cochise, Captain Jack, Sitting Bull, a grim procession of fearless and indomitable heroes, many of them men of striking statesmanship and diplomacy, have stalked across the pages of our history proving their humanity by leaving behind them one more trail of blood. They were forest bred; reared in the shadow of our mountains, their familiar music the thunder of our cataracts, their daily haunts our forests, our lakes and our rivers.

It is this American climate, this teeming soil and this life giving sunshine of ours which we must rely on to make and continue us a great, free, liberty loving and God fearing people that produced the race we have supplanted, whose deeds of valor should place them beside the Saxon and the Greek in history.

What was the secret of this success against such fearful odds? Who were the men who wrought the mighty change? What was their origin, their equipment, their inspiration?

We shall see that they and those who came after them were allied in blood with all the older states and with all the civilized nations of the world. Drawn here by that mysterious affinity of our better nature for truth and freedom, no word is spoken in any civilized language but we may claim in it a family interest, see in it a family tie.

Much has been said and written about the great advantage of purity of race in the organization of society and government, but it is the unquestioned lesson of history that those nations which have become most powerful are composed of mixed races. Cross-breeding produces the best results. It fortifies, reinforces, improves the stock, and mental development is most robust and practical in the sound body. Given a proper climate, and a kindly soil as we have here and the conditions are productive of the best results. In fact, the descendants of emigrants, under favorable physical, moral and intellectual conditions are always physically, mentally and morally stronger than those from whom they sprung. Every native of this soil was the descendant of some man more enterprising, more energetic, more venturesome than his neighbor who thought it best to stay at home.

In Ohio we had some five centers of original settlement by people of different origin. At this point known as the "Symmes Purchase," lying between the Great and the Little Miami Rivers, the pioneers were chiefly from New Jersey, with a dash of Huguenot, Swedish, Holland and English blood. East of us in the Virginia Military District, with its center at Chillicothe, the first settlers came principally from Virginia and were of English lineage, with a tincture of Norman and Cavalier. At

Marietta, the first settlement in Ohio, the pioneers were from Massachusetts and other New England states. Their fathers were English Protestants who emigrated thither in search of religious freedom. In the century and a half since their migration from Europe they had drawn widely apart from the Virginians and the other colonies and acquired an individualism all their own. On the "Seven Ranges," so called, extending from the Ohio River north to the fortieth parallel, being the first of the surveys and sales of public lands in Ohio, the first settlers were of Pennsylvania, some of the Quaker stock introduced by William Penn, others of Dutch, Irish, Scotch and Scotch-Irish. On the Western Reserve they were of Puritan stock, from Connecticut, with center at Cleveland. West of the "Seven Ranges" to the Scioto River and south of the Greenville Treaty line was the United States Military Reservation, where the first settlers were holders of bounty land warrants for military service and they came from all the states and from beyond the sea.

Longfellow says of the Puritan colony: "God sifted three kingdoms to find the seed for this planting."

He seems to have sifted every civilized nation to find seed for the planting of Ohio and the contiguous territory.

These centers were necessarily isolated, self-centered, and had all they could do in their struggle for subsistence and their battle for life. They occupied those positions with all the peculiar prejudices and predilections of men of different races and conditions, though without animosity, because engaged in a common cause. A majority of them had taken part in the revolutionary war. This gave them courage to meet the difficulties of pioneer life, in which they were almost constantly in a state of war until the peace of 1815. Many of them took part in the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. More than a thousand had lost their lives in those campaigns and in isolated attacks from Indians. Every man had his rifle and knew how to use it. Neither idleness nor luxury sapped their energies. Their food was coarse but plentiful and healthful. The self-reliance and energy, so necessary to the equipment of the pioneer, and which these men possessed in an eminent degree, were intensified and developed by the sense of the responsibility which

political democracy compels and the sense of hopefulness which social democracy imparts to the humblest and the most obscure.

The wars in which they had engaged, like all wars, were wasting horrors, but they were not without their compensations. Few men go to war for a great principle, or in defense of their homes, whose character is not strengthened. They become more sturdy, more self-reliant, more self-respecting, more courageous, and these qualities affected those communities to a noticeable degree.

In the war of 1812-15 the soldiers came together from all those communities in a common cause and the barriers of prejudice were broken down. They rapidly coalesced socially, became better acquainted, more homogeneous and the result was more frequent intermarriages.

Of course none of the leading men of the time of Fort Washington were natives of the soil of Ohio. Governor Tiffin was English; Governor Worthington was of Virginia; Governor Meigs was from Connecticut; Governor Morrow was from Pennsylvania; General Harrison was from Virginia; Governor McArthur was from New York; General Cass was from New Hampshire.

The different elements which we have seen constituting the population at that time, elsewhere in the older communities widely separated by racial and religious prejudices, social rank or otherwise, here were mingled, acting and reacting upon each other, so that each community presented in itself an accurate epitome of the national life. So that men of that time illustrate the operation of the peculiar forces that wrought their transformation.

Following the peace of 1815, the influence of the West, twenty years later to become so masterful in the national life, began to be felt in the national councils, through the native element.

It is noticeable how the men of the East, accustomed to rule in public affairs, stood aghast at the intrusion; how the staid and formal conservatism of the older states was startled at the impending change which they saw setting in from the West, and which they looked upon as the decadence, the beginning of

a permanent demoralization of our politics. However much men may now deprecate some of the methods of that rude period; however much they may regret that the stately dignity and method of the Adamses, the Madisons and the Jeffersons could not have been projected into the aggressive virility of the West, we now know that the change was not a decadence, but a renaissance, great and perilous as may have been some of its crudities and errors. These men showed themselves possessed of that wonderful assimilative faculty peculiar to the English stock.

A recent writer endeavors to show that the pioneer work for every race has been done, not by the ablest and most cultured, but by the strongest and the most enterprising, and this may explain the masterful influence of those stalwart and vigorous pioneers.

The old order was done away with. A new Nation had made its entrance on the world's stage and it must be freed from every trammel of Old World glamour and superstition. The men thus produced were best equipped for the task and though they may have entered upon the work with much of the daring and recklessness of youth, they were determined to work out for the Nation a destiny of its own. In short our institutions were born of our necessities, which should inspire faith in their endurance.

It was a day of experiments, of risks, yet there was nothing but good at the basis of the new plan in the hearts of those whose duty it became to exploit it. As in Verona long ago, "the weakest went to the wall," but the stalwart survivors waxed strong and took courage under the invigorating tonic of danger on a virgin soil and in the broad light of a new day. Out of the apparent confusion they builded a structure founded on the natural rights of the people without a pretext of mystery or miracle.

Recovering from the war of 1812-15 the native element began to assert itself in public affairs, the legislature reflecting the character of the people, at once took advanced ground in favor of free schools, canals, roads and official honesty. The progress of two generations thereafter showed enormous ad-

vances in all directions; in wealth, in numbers, in intelligence, but the tremendous uprising of 1861, when 320,000 of Ohio's stalwart sons rallied to the support of our imperiled nation, showed that our people had taken to heart the lessons of their fathers and had not become effeminate.

And to-day, when our trade interests are reaping the benefit of that perfect freedom, political and conventional; that freedom of the individual to work out his own destiny unhampered by government control, or by considerations of caste, the results of the efforts of the fathers which have given us hope, ambition, purpose and practical energy, in contradistinction to our commercial rivals who are still under the dwarfing influence of caste, resulting in slow progress in the adoption of improved methods, we see additional evidence that we are not deteriorating, but still profiting by the lessons of that early time.

It is the conclusion of many careful students that a democracy is the ultimate evolution of government, and it has been well said that there is nothing beyond it but anarchy. It therefore follows that it is here that restless and desperate men will make their stand in their great struggle to live without government.

We should therefore bear in mind that this evolution is of God, and that in the future as in the past He will continue to so order that those institutions alone which are founded and administered in justice and equity will be favored in the final consummation. Our only safety lies in the maintenance of that spirit and influence without which no spot of earth has yet been found fit for decent human occupancy.

In studying the different steps in our progress it is interesting, even startling, to observe that no great human want sprang up without the means being at hand to supply it. No sooner had we acquired the Louisiana Territory than Fulton was ready with his steamboat to explore its ten thousand miles of navigable rivers and transport to their banks and teeming savannahs a busy and enterprising people, and we became the greatest steamboat nation of the world.

No sooner had the restless and wandering spirit of the old Saxon and Teuton seized upon the modern German and Celt

than the mighty arms of this great valley were open to receive them and we became the greatest agricultural nation of the world.

No sooner had the remote trading posts of our western rivers grown into towns than the vast spaces of intervening prairie and forest were spanned with railroads, and when steam became too slow for the oncoming tide of progress Morse was ready with his invention and the lightning of Heaven became their swift messengers. Thus were our distant Mexican cessions bound together with bands and nerves of steel and we became the greatest railroad and telegraph Nation.

And if I may be permitted to invade the domain of prophecy I will venture the prediction that our recent insular acquisitions will as certainly make us the greatest naval Nation of the world. So that what at the outset of our recent involuntary expansion, appeared a difficult and dangerous problem will as surely strengthen us where alone we are weak.

The lessons we have been considering, however, relate to the tests of adversity, of sacrifice, of hardship, but the tests of success being more subtle, and more insidious, and more searching, and this is a day of phenomenal prosperity. The financial center of the world is shifting to this country. We have a new earth, new forces in operation and a new type of man, who is rapidly reorganizing the world.

Nations decay and the path of history is strewn with their ruins, but where a nation is built on such broad and deep foundations and is administered by the worthy sons of the admixture of all the Anglo-Saxon stocks I predict that its decadence will be in the far distant future. There is no limit to our prosperity and welfare if we are true to these lessons and these institutions. In short, we have nothing to fear except from ourselves.

Seeing the efficiency of the women of the Society of the Mayflower, of the Colonial Dames, of the Daughters of the Revolution, of the Children of the Revolution and of the War of 1812 in the erection of this monument, and in other enterprises of similar character the question has been asked: "What have women to do with such functions?" "Their office is of peace,

of home, of family and can have nothing to do with wars and the stirring events which attend the life and work of the soldier and the pioneer. That war and its attendant horrors are 'the white man's burden,' of which women know nothing and with which they can have nothing to do."

Nay! Nay! War has been the white woman's burden since long before Persian and Greek fought at Salamis and Marathon. Every forward movement of the race where sacrifice and hardship were to be incurred has been sanctified by woman's tears. Every footprint along the bloody trail of civilization has mixed with it the blood that has oozed from the hearts of sad eyed women whose burdens, though quietly and patiently borne, were none the less hard than those of the men behind the guns. So that any recognition of the heroism, the sacrifices and the suffering of those times would be incomplete if it failed to mention, with deepest respect and highest honor that glorious rear guard which, through days of toil and nights of horror and anxiety kept the home swept and garnished against the coming of the highpriest; kept the little flock safe folded against the coming of the shepherd; kept the gaunt wolf from the door.

The mother, the wife, the sister, the daughter, the sweetheart of that time, who

> "With no one but her secret God
> To know the pain that weighed upon her,
> Shed holy blood as e'er the sod
> Received upon the field of honor."

Let the memory of that grand army of noble women ever be held in veneration wherever men assemble to commemorate heroic deeds.

Monuments not only contribute to our civilization, they mark its progress and degree. No nation can afford to lose its monuments, and works of art. They keep green the memory of patriotic services and of personal virtues. They have always been potent factors in the darkest ages to prevent society from lapsing into barbarism or falling into decay.

Were the monuments of Greece and Rome destroyed even now the world would feel the loss, not only to learning and the

arts, but to virtue and patriotism. It nearly concerns the honor and the welfare of our people that this spot be marked by some fitting structure which should recall the history and inspire all who look upon it.

History informs us of no people who ever attained and conserved permanent power, or achieved greatness who neglected to reverence their ancestors and who did not demonstrate such reverence by fitting testimonials.

Thus we have erected and this day dedicated this monument that it may tell to those who come after us of our gratitude to those who through hardship and sacrifice wrought out our independence.

Those who have contributed to this work represent every war in which our people have engaged, from King Philip to the recent war with Spain, and every race from which this Nation sprang. They are proud of their ancestry; of their deeds of daring and of suffering; of their success at government building; of their virtues and their talents, and they have builded that pride into this humble monument. Its construction has been a labor of love, and it will stand as an evidence of the lasting influence of those forces which wrought our mighty success.

Long may our Nation stand the champion of human rights the exemplar of human freedom, and the advocate and representative of the brotherhood of man, the federation of the nations and the peace of the world.

Hail Columbia — by the band of the 1st Reg. O. N. G.

Mr. Jenney said, prefatory to the unveiling:

In 1791 the Second Regiment, U. S. I., was stationed in Fort Washington. It was with General St. Clair in his campaign, and was a part of General Wayne's army in his expedition against the Miamis. It participated in the War of 1812, in the Mexican War, in the War of 1861-5, was in Cuba during the war just closed, and then in the Philippines, where two of its battalions are now; its other battalion recently returned from the Philippines and is now stationed at Fort Thomas under the

command of Maj. J. R. Clagett. We have with us to-day troops from that regiment, and after 110 years have intervened, representatives of that regiment are again standing within the lines of Fort Washington. The Second has always done, and always will do, its duty wherever it may be placed, and we most heartily welcome those from that regiment, and from Fort Thomas with us here to-day.

Those who have not attempted to locate historical places cannot appreciate how difficult it is to accurately fix their sites after the lapse of a few years. A number of persons have, at different times, attempted to definitely fix the site of Fort Washington within the reservation. Mrs. Peirce J. Cadwalader, a member of the committee from the Cincinnati Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, found a clue which, investigated by Mr. Robert Ralston Jones, a member of the committee from the Sons of the Revolution, with much original investigation on his part, resulted in definitely settling the boundary lines of the fort. In recognition of her discovering this clue, Mrs. Cadwalader has been chosen to unveil the monument, and she will be assisted by Maj. J. R. Clagett, of the Second U. S. I., the regiment stationed in the fort in 1791.

Unveiling of the monument by Mrs. Pierce J. Cadwalader, assisted by Maj. J. R. Claggett, 2nd U. S. I.

Tenting on the Old Camp Ground, by the band of 1st Reg. O. N. G.

Mr. Jenney said, in presenting the monument to the City of Cincinnati.

There are a few points in the neighborhood to which your attention is especially called.

The angle in the house line on the other side of the street is practically the center of the fort where stood the flag-staff.

After the fort was abandoned, the United States divided and sold the land in the reservation to different persons, and the jurisdiction over that land then passed to the City of Cincinnati, and that is the second prominent jurisdictional period in the history of the land upon which the fort was located. The

house No. 429 was built and occupied by Dr. Daniel Drake, the pioneer in medicine here, and the most prominent and distinguished man in his profession west of the Alleghenies during his life. In the north wall of the parlor of this house, between the windows and close to the ceiling, is a medallion portrait of General Washington, embedded in the wall, modeled. it is said, by a resident artist.

No. 423 was built and occupied by General Jared Mansfield, the First Surveyor General of the Northwest Territory, and afterwards owned and occupied by the Hon. Rufus King, who died a few years ago.

The Lorraine building covers the site of Mrs. Trollope's Bazaar, spoken of in Anthony Trollope's North America, and it covers the southwest angle of the fort.

When Maj. John Doughty, in 1789, selected the site of Fort Washington the surrounding territory was really a wilderness. A few persons had settled in the neighborhood upon the "Symmes Purchase," and the principal object in establishing the fort was to protect them. The number of settlers rapidly increased in this and other eastern parts of the territory, and thirteen years after the establishing of the fort the State of Ohio was carved out of the Northwest Territory and admitted into the Union. When Fort Washington was established it was a frontier post, but since its establishment the western boundary of the United States has been extended to the Pacific Ocean and the jurisdiction of this government has been extended across the Pacific and over Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines.

The monument before you the patriotic societies of Ohio now present to the City of Cincinnati as locating the site of Fort Washington, which was built when this section of the country was a wilderness, to protect those who had crossed the mountains and floated down the Ohio River to settle here. May it be a reminder to us, and to those who come after us, of our indebtedness to the brave pioneers who opened this section of the country to civilization; and may it increase our love for this, our country, which extends its protection over its citizens wherever they may be.

We had expected that our Mayor, Mr. Fleischmann, would be with us to-day, but he is unavoidably absent, and is represented by the Hon. Charles J. Hunt, the Solicitor of this city. Will you now, Mr. Hunt, as the representative of the City of Cincinnati and on its behalf, accept this monument from the patriotic societies of Ohio which have erected it?

Hon. Charles J. Hunt, in accepting the monument on behalf of the City of Cincinnati, said:

Mr. Chairman:—The efforts of your committee deserve not only appreciation and grateful acceptance, but also emulation by the authorities and citizens of the City of Cincinnati. This monument, marking a place of central interest in our local history, will teach us to look upon our city not only as a structure of brick, stone and iron, as a convenient place of abode and of business, but also a city with a local history, full of eventful and even romantic interest.

As we love our friends, not only for what they are, but for what they have been and have done, so we will love our city, not only for what it is, but for its past. Its present ministers to our physical and intellectual necessities, but its past appeals to our sentiments, without which, in their various forms, home is but a habitation, family but kinship, and country but a locality. In the older states and countries, places of historical interest are to the student of history replete with the life and action of long ago. So this spot, marked by this miniature block house in stone, suggestive in its very form of the perils of the frontiersman, will present to our mental visions scenes of the life which centered here more than one hundred years ago. Protected from the savage foe by a few widely separated forts such as Fort Washington, the frontiersmen, in less than a lifetime, dotted a continent with thriving settlements, now mighty cities.

It is natural that this monument should be erected by the societies represented by your committee. Your societies represent every important epoch and crisis in American history. They are representative of the men and women who stamped their characteristics upon the age in which they lived, and to whom we owe the origin of almost all distinctive American

thought, as well as that fostering influence and patriotism which molded and preserved our institutions through the stress of partisan and sectional strife. No sacrifice of time, labor, even of life itself, was too great for them to make in behalf of their faith, their principles and their country. To such men and women we owe to-day all that makes glorious the name "America." Of such men and women were the leading pioneers who wrested this locality from the Red men's dominion, and as from a society such as those your committee represents, Cincinnati received its very name, it is eminently proper that from you to-day Cincinnati should receive this monument, which, as often as we pass this way, will compel us to pay tribute to the American pioneer.

In the absence of Mayor Fleischmann, and on behalf of the City of Cincinnati, I accept this monument, and I can assure you that the gratitude of our citizens will be expressed in its future care and preservation, and in the increased love for our city which will result from this constant reminder of our city's interesting past.

America, by the band of the 1st Reg. O. N. G.

Bugle Call, "Retreat," by the buglers of 2nd U. S. I.

REV. L. B. GURLEY, D. D.,

Pioneer, Poet and Preacher.

BY N. B. C. LOVE, D. D.

Rev. L. B. Gurley was born in Norwich Conn. He lived there seven and a half years, and learned his A B C's in the school house where Lydia Sigourney, the poetess, conned her earliest lessons.

L. B. GURLEY.

His father was a silversmith and a Methodist local preacher. He worked in his father's shop and on the farm until he entered the ministry. During this time he had the advantages of winter schools, and a comprehensive library of books of the very best English literature, embracing history, biography, travels, romance, poetry and theology. He practiced a great deal in composition, both in prose and verse. He was the author of the *first* poem published in northwestern Ohio, in the fourth number of the "Sandusky Clarion."

Dr. Gurley was a born poet. His talent evinced itself early. We do not know what his early advantages were. It is not the purpose of this article to narrate the incidents of his life. He was born of Irish parents. They came from Wexford county, Ireland, and were intelligent and possessed of considerable means.

Of Mr. Gurley, as a poet, I write. Before me is a collection of his poems in manuscript, eighty in number. Only a few have been published. These are found in the "Ladies' Repository" of forty years ago, the "Western Christian Advocate," "Delaware Gazette" and other secular papers. They were written beginning in his early youth and the last one when over seventy years old.

Several of the poems are epics of considerable length. There is continuity of thought in all his productions. His imagery is so true to nature that one continually recognizes it as something

seen, heard, felt in the observations and experiences of life. I do not claim that his poems are perfect, or that he is a great poet, but a poet. I heard Bishop E. Thompson speak of him as the poet of nature, and regret that he had given so little time to the claims of the goddess of the muses.

Judged by the arbitrary rules of English versification he may be open to adverse criticism, but by the emotions awakened in the soul as one reads his poems, he will be honored as a true poet of nature.

Had he given his life to literature he would have been to American poetry what William Wordsworth was to the English, bringing the infinite in nature within the range of the vision of the ordinary mind's grasp, and revealing the ever varying beauties of the visible world.

There is much real poetry not in verse, and a vast deal of verse that is not poetry. Indeed many great poets have been indifferent versifiers. There are beautiful gems in his poems, which awaken in the mind pleasing emotions, and having read them once, one wishes to read them again.

He should rank with the poets who clothe the common and familiar with grace and beauty, and who see the truth and grandeur of things, although manifested in common forms. Filled with charity, benevolence and love, he saw these continually in his environment.

"His present mind was under fascination, he beheld a vision and adorned the thing he saw."

He was reared in northern Ohio, on the Sandusky Bay, and his eyes and ears were familiar with the sights and sounds of the lakes, rivers, forests and prairies. The following, from the poem, "To Sandusky Plains," in pentameter, is full of truth and beauty. We quote only a few lines. It was the first poem published in northwestern Ohio.

"Thy plains, Sandusky, and thy green retreats,
Thy perfumed flowers and their opening sweets;
How bright the scene to fancy's richest glow,
As years shall roll and ages onward flow,
And lofty groves in sweet suffusion grow."

Then he described the "Winding Stream Beneath the Leafy Shade," on the bay:

"Thy Bay, Sandusky, lovely murmuring deep,
Whose midnight rolling rocks thy sons to sleep,
Thy waters pure our rock bound waters lave,
And mingling join proud Erie's swelling wave."

In the next stanza he speaks of the proud steamers, and compares them with the Indian's barque:

"Once was the light canoe thy only pride,
Smoothe on the surface did it swiftly glide,
Once did thy waves in heathen darkness roar,
And thundering dash thy solitary shore."

The concluding stanzas of the poem is a prophecy of the civilization that shall come to these plains when men of a superior race shall "Improve these wilds." His little poem entitled "*Erie*" is very pretty:

"Bright lake roll on thy silvery tide,
Thy voice is sweet to me,
How oft we've wandered by thy side,
And heard thy minstrelsy.

I love thy loudest thunderings,
When deepest tones are given,
Thou mighty harp of thousand strings,
Swept by the hand of Heaven.

Thy breezes fanned my youthful cheek,
Thy waters cooled my brow,
I've heard thee in anger speak,
And in thy murmurs low."

After describing the lake of a calm summer evening he says:

"Thou mind'st me of that peaceful rest,
The stormless scene of Heaven.
Here where my earliest prayers and vows,
First rose at evening,"

"I'll ne'er forget thy wave-worn shore,
Where'er my feet may roam;
Thy sheltering rocks and midnight roar,
Close by my childhood home."

The spring he portrays with an artist's hand.

He speaks of by-gone ages, of the "Proud nations born and passed away," over whom time "has spread its pall of silence o'er their fate, and left them wrapped in mystery." Then he tells of the Indians who were their successors:

"Here plumed warriors from the strife returned
Have gathered oft to cool their massive brows;
Here wildwood maids in whose pure bosom burned
Love's holy fire, have pledged their solemn vows."

The following stanza is used preparatory to a prophecy of the future:

"MISSION OF THE SPRING."

Written by the side of the White Sulphur Spring, Delaware, Ohio.

"The stars that watched thee in the long ago,
Are nightly mirrored on thy bosom still,
Thus constantly thy pearly waters flow,
Thy heavenly appointed mission to fulfill.

That mission now is linked with work sublime
Of mental and moral culture high,
For faith and science here through coming time
Shall light the lamp of true philosophy.

Full many a youth in manhood's early prime,
Shall quaff delicious coolness from thy breast,
And maidens fair at summer evening time,
Shall gather here in robes of beauty dressed."

"Indian Summer on the Sandusky Plains" is graphically portrayed; Tho. Buchanan Reed's "Closing Scene" is not more beautiful and true. I give only a few lines:

"Now the Indian Summer reigns; that autumn air
Is fanned by lazy winds. The yellow sun
Sheds soft and mellow light. The forest now
Is draped in gorgeous robes of thousand hues,
And wrapped in misty veils, and waves in the breeze.

The noise of clattering blackbirds now on wing
Is heard. The whirring pheasant echoes from the grove.
The fattened squirrel leaps from limb to limb,
And chatters saucily to passers-by;
While the proud woodcock with his crest of flame,
Drums on the blasted tree; and deep and far
The rattling echoes of the wood resound."

He then tells of the "Graceful swan" and the "Wild geese which wedge-like cut the air," in their southern flight, and the wild pigeons which follow, "In long and shadowy lines, for far off climes."

Also of the various wild beasts, and especially "The antlered deer which leaps from the tangled grass." As night comes over this fine picture the pioneers are startled; they see

"A sight terrific, beautiful and sublime,
High towering smoke in darkened columns whirle,
The flickering flashes of the fitful flame,
Gild their black spirits with floods of golden light."

He continues in this same strain, delineating the prairie fires, until one can see the

"Broad sheets of flame, borne on the winged breeze,
Send forth their glazing rockets far and wide around."

All hands are set to work firing the prairie just outside the fields where far out the

"Encountering billows meet in conflict fierce—
As maddened by resistless height, they leap,
And clash and tower and rush and wave on high
Their fiery banners to the fitful breeze."

After all is over the

"Field of conflict shows the naked earth,
Like city sacked and burned, its glory gone,
And not a withered blade or flower,
To wave the requiem of the pillaged land."

"The Fair Fugitive" is a poem of thirty-four stanzas. The first verse is suggestive:

"Minnie was the lovely daughter,
Of a mother doomed to toil;
Where the white magnolia blossoms,
And the orange shades the soil."

Minnie was favored with a home in the planter's family where she was reared in luxury, and a mind finely cultured received all that art and science could bestow. She had

"Auburn hair and lips of coral.
Afric's blood no eye could trace.
Sixteen summers had passed o'er her,
Girlhood's ripening charms were seen,
Passing lovely was the maiden,
Graceful form and gentle mien."

"Minnie's master was her father." A lordly slaveholder with plenty of money bought her, and when the bill of her purchase was given her, she for the first time realized her sad fate. That she was a slave

"As she read, a deathlike pallor,
Blanched her fair and virgin cheek,
Then one mighty soul-born struggle,
And she smiled submissive meek."

When the night came she sought the fields and river, and on its brink she left her jewels and her best clothing, and hastened on northward. The father, seeing her clothes next day supposed she was drowned, and filled with remorse, threw the money at the rich lordling's feet. For many nights she traveled onward and rested through the day,

"Till her weary limbs had borne her
From her native home afar."

"As she lay concealed one morning
A young sportsman passed that way,
And he spied the tall reeds waving
Where the trembling Minnie lay."

He fired into the "Wild Beasts' lair" and wounded the maiden. He carried her to his father's house and after weeks of careful nursing by mother and sisters of the young man, Minnie was well again, and became his bride. Her father, hearing of her, and of her marriage, sent her freedom, and made her his only heir. She was with him in his dying hour, and all her father's slaves were given her, and then she freed them. Afterward

"Happy Horace and his Minnie
Far from slavery, in their home;
Blest with children, wealth and honor,
Brightening joys around them bloom."

No doubt during the first half of the century Dr. Gurley had seen and aided many slaves onward to the land of freedom, on the "underground railroad."

Perhaps the best descriptive poem is *"Wapayana."* This maiden was the daughter of a chieftain who dwelt on the Sandusky. She was

"The fairest of the forest maidens,
With her tresses dark and long,
Peerless in her maiden beauty,
Child of genius and of song."

She would

"Sing the wild strains by minstrels taught her,
Sing of deeds brave warriors wrought,
Sing of prairie flowers and forests,
Sing as whispering fancy taught,
And her tones were wild and witching,
Such as in sweet dreams we hear,
From the fairy isles of fancy
Softly floating on the ear."

A pioneer, formerly a man of wealth, with his wife and only daughter moved to the Sandusky. The daughter was of rare culture and excelled in singing and playing the guitar. The music of the guitar and singing of Orpha attracted the attention of the Indian maiden as she wandered along the Sandusky. The two met and became fast friends, and

"Orpha taught the Indian maiden
How to touch the light guitar,
How to strike its sounding wires,
To sing of love and war."

After a while the Indian maiden, Wapayana, became the wife of a western chieftain. He took her to his far off home, in his bark canoe, to

"Rugged peaks where hemlocks tower,
Caverns vast and forests wild,
Where the eagle feeds his nestlings,
Where calm beauty never smiled."

Two or three years had passed, and Orpha, alone on a summer evening with her guitar,

"Sought a lonely vineclad hawthorn,
Such as might have made the bower,
When the sinless pair of Eden
Lived their first and happiest hour."

Then she sang the pioneer song:

"What though I have left the sweet home of my childhood
Yet dear to my heart is its memory still."

Ere she had completed this song there sprang upon her two warriors, and took her captive. They captured her father also, while her mother, left behind, died of grief.

Reaching the far Indian settlement, the father was doomed to die, and as he laid his head on the log, the daughter, wild with despair, fell on her father's neck and wept. Her father asked her not to weep but to play and sing once again for him. This she did, the Indians meanwhile gathering around:

"While she sang a grand procession
Came to join the sacred dance,
Came to see the pale face tortured—
All with solemn step advance."

The chieftain and his fair bride were in the company, when the latter recognized Orpha and her father, and sprang to the rescue. With tears she pleaded for the pale faces, but the chieftains urged that they die. They rehearsed the wrongs the Indians had suffered. While the council was proceeding, the Indian bride took the guitar from Orpha, and

"Sang of deed renowned in story
When the tribe triumphant stood;
Sang of trophies won and glory,
Rousing all their martial blood."

Then she sang of the "Great Spirit" who "Loves the braves whose hearts can pity helpless captives doomed to die."

The braves were moved. They were filled with wonder, they thought that the "Great Spirit" had inspired her. A pardon was granted;

"So the tones of Wapayana,
Hushed man's raging wrath to rest."

"Thus Orpha's death-doomed father,
Rescued by her light guitar."

Perhaps we have given enough of Dr. Gurley's descriptive poetry to indicate something of his pictorial power in portraying natural phenomena.

At a later period in his life, while standing under Niagara Falls, he wrote a poem on "Music":

"When from the golden urn above,
God bid his richest blessings flow,
He sought one peerless gift of love;
To bless the new-born world below.

Then from her angel home on high,
He called the fairest goddess down,
And music came, child of the sky,
And bliss of Paradise to crown.

Sweet goddess of the harp and lyre,
The winding vale and sylvan grove
Have echoed to thy strains of fire
Stirring the pulse of war or love.

Where shines the sun or beams a star,
Thy voice is heard o'er the sad and free,
On Alpine mountains bleak and bare,
And emerald islands of the sea.

She stands where mighty waters pour
Their paeans to the listening sky,
Niagara's eternal roar
Lifts up its deep-toned bass on high."

Then he speaks of the music of the ocean "roused by tempest wrath," "while the echoing thunder sings" in response.

The next verse tells us of the music soft and low:

"Where streamlets flow in forests deep
Where plumed birds and insects rove,
Where naiads dwell and wood nymphs sleep,
She pours her cheery notes of love."

From the forest he enters the home where

"She breathes her gentlest lullaby,
Her childhood sinks to rosy rest,
And cheers with softest harmony,
The care-worn mother's anxious breast."

Even on the battle field he sees the goddess Music,

"Where Freedom's banners wave she stands,"

"But richer still her notes of praise,
In churches of the living God."

And

"When death's pale angel shakes his dart,
She waits beside the sufferer's bed,
And smooths with lofty strains the heart,
As gently sinks the dying head."

The climax of the poem is reached

"When the eternal gates of light
Unfold to greet the rising soul,
Songs burst through all those regions bright,
And loud the angel anthems roll."

Nor shall there be one silent tongue
In all the white-robed beings there;
But strains by saints and seraphs sung
Shall fill and sweeten all the air."

A man who could in an hour write a poem like this, when under the exhilirating power of *one* of nature's wonders could, had he traveled abroad, and given his time to poetical composition have added largely to the best literature of the age in which he lived. He had his admirers, and had he listened to them, he would even after he was fifty years old have devoted his talents to writing.

Bishop Ed. Thompson was one of these admirers and intimate friends, and after he was bishop, and before his last marriage, he was an inmate of Mr. Gurley's home.

I quote two stanzas from a poem on the death of Rev. Uriah Heath, one of the pioneer preachers of central and southern Ohio:

"We know him when summer flowers shall fade,
Or ripening harvests greet the sight,
When yellow leaves shall strew the glade,
Or day decline to coming night.

But who can tell when at the door,
The noiseless step of death shall fall;
Or voices from the shining shore
The viewless spirit hence shall call?"

He wrote many short poems. From some of these I quote. "To My Portrait" was written no doubt in his declining years. The portrait, an oil painting by the brother of his first wife, is the one he addresses. The same artist executed the statue of Commodore Perry in Cleveland.

"Thou image of my manhood years,
I gaze upon thee now;
And think how faded years have left
Their traces on my brow.

Art wrought thy form while one looked on,
Who smiles on me no more;
Companion of my early toils—
She walks the shining shore.

Thou mind'st me of a thousand joys—
What precious memories rise!
The echoes of departed years
Like voices from the skies."

One of his best short poems, "Come Sit Upon this Chair, My Love," was written probably in the vigor of his middle life:

"Come sit upon this chair, my love,
The hallowed past review,
And call to mind the happy hours
When this old chair was new.
For many a cherished hope has fled,
And heart friends dear and true
Like summer flowers have passed away,
Since this old chair was new.

When this old chair was new, my love,
Another was my bride,
Proudly swelled my throbbing heart,
As she stood by my side.
For me, she left her city home
So trustingly and true,
To bless with joy my wildwood cot
When this old chair was new.

The tangled grass now wraps the grave
Where sleeps her mouldering form,
And buried deep in silence now,
The heart that once was warm.
Thou art in her place, O my love,
As trustingly and true,
Thou art loved as loved was she,
When this old chair was new.

When this old chair was new, my love,
The stars in yonder sky
Shone brightly, and they still shine on,
As rolling years pass by.
So let the love that lingers in our hearts
Gild all life's journey through;
And both be happy, as was I
When this old chair was new."

Dr. Gurley was always a happy man. I never saw him despondent. He always looked on the bright side. This poem, which I give here in part, is suggestive of this trait in his character. When he was an old man, and after he had from choice retired from the active ministry, when in attendance at a session of Central Ohio Conference, I met him one day in the vestibule alone and as I shook his hand, said to him:

"Dr. Gurley, since you have left the pastorate, how does it look on the shady side?"

He replied: "My dear Brother Love, you are mistaken, I am on the bright side now, and you and the younger brethren are on the shady side. To me the evening time is bright. It is radiant all about me. I am in the land of singing birds, blooming flowers and bright anticipations. My sunset is golden, my hope is for the morning, the night cometh, a star-lit night, and the morning of the eternal day. I am on the bright side."

I give his thought and words as nearly as possible. When he was fifty-four years old, he wrote:

"The years flow on and the snowflakes fall
Though silently upon my head,
But still my heart beats free and warm
Though many a cherished hope is dead."

On his sixty-fourth birthday, he was still the same hopeful, cheerful Christian:

"Soft is the silent tread of time,
And noiseless are his restless wings;
Yet deep his footprints and sublime
His impress on all earthly things."

He then speaks of time's devastations among the empires of the world:

"His touch the hoary empires shake," and he fills the tyrant's heart with dread, breaks off chains, encourages Freedom in her work, gives light to lands in darkness while "Eternal truth with potent sway has ushered in a glorious morn."

In this poem he refers to himself only in one stanza:

"Be hushed, my soul, nor start to think
How far my weary feet have trod,
Away from life's bright rosy brink
Toward eternity and God."

"The Cottage Girl" is a little gem of poetic description:

"Her form is free, her step is light,
Her lucient eyes are soft and bright
And rich clustering curls that deck
Her glowing cheek and snowy neck;
And sweetly floats her silvery song
At morn the dewy flowers among.

The cottage girl, a stranger she
To pomp and pride and coquetry,
As free from care, as free from guile,
For grief a tear; for love a smile.
Ah, who could trade that humble home
For countly hall or castle dome?

These two stanzas are suggestive of the tone of the others. The last stanza of the poem, "The Setting Stars," sounds familiar, but it is original with Dr Gurley:

"For every golden star which sets
Beyond our view at even
Descends to rise on other worlds,
And gild a brighter heaven."

During the dark days of the Rebellion he wrote "The Decisive Battle":

"A nation waits, and waits to shout
The long wild notes of victory won;
Or waits to hear with bated breath
The sad, sad wail of Freedom gone."

The whole poem is good, and portrays well the uncertain feeling that existed for a time all over the north, when the best and most helpful felt like saying:

"O, who can tell a nation's fate
Hanging in the balance; who can say
For glory or shame, we wait—
Our darkest or brightest day."

"*Old John Brown*" was written during the time appointed for his execution, December 2, 1859.

In his mind Mr. Gurley saw the soldiers waving plumes, he heard the martial strains of music, and saw the cavalcade bearing the "Old honored veteran to his fate," but casting a glance over the whole land he saw "Millions of sad hearts weeping," and "Fair Freedom gathering up his ashes for her keeping." Then as years rolled by he saw another sight, described in the last stanza:

"And when o'er Afric's fettered sons
Fair Freedom's Flag shall tower;
On its torn page thy name shall be
Illustrious in that hour."

There were not many at that time who expected to live to see such a prophecy fulfilled, and yet how bitterly fulfilled in a half a decade of years, and from that date and to-day,

"While John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
His soul goes marching on."

"*Dream Visits*" contains some beautiful thoughts. He was permitted to see into the borderland, and in company:

"Is one among the shining band
Whose image lies within my breast."

"Oh she was pure and true and good,
With spirit kind and trusting
Through years of toil and care she stood
Heaven's richest, fairest gift to me."

She was now among the angels, but in his dream once again

"We walk beside the murmuring rill,
Or sit beneath our favorite tree,
Recalling precious memories still
Of those earth never more shall see."

But it was a dream, and are not the pleasures of earth that are past only as dreams that vanish ever more?

"Then come my dear departed love,
Come as I seek my nightly rest,
Not robed as those who shine above,
But in thy earthly beauty dressed.
The ruby lips bewitching smile
Thy silken tresses floating fair,
Thy gentle tones that knew no guile,
And every charm that lustered there.

But when is loosed the silken chord,
And broken is the golden bowl,
And at the Master's welcome word
I yield in death my trusting soul;
Then meet me on the shining shore
With robes as bright as God has given,
When earthly scenes are mine no more
My eyes can bear the light of heaven."

Two patriotic poems, "*Independence Ode*" and "*A Free West*," are full of loyalty and piety; for a more patriotic citizen than Mr. Gurley did not live during the rebellion.

His poems to his daughter and wife are fraught with poetic beauty and feeling. The former commences with:

"Be as the star whose steady light
Guides wanderers through the gloomy night;
Or like the fragrant gale which brings
Ambrosial odor on its wings."

And latter ends:

"And when we heave the parting sigh,
To seek a fairer home on high,
O may that hour of victory
Be evening's tranquil hour."

His poem on the death of "*Dred Scott*" would bear recording entire. His story is a history. The victim of the odious fugitive slave law and the cruel decision of Judge Taney by which slavery was made national.

"Thou art free at last, thy name is known,
Child of the sable ones;
Where'er our flag in mockery waves
O'er Afric's fettered sons.

Though earthly courts man's dearest rights,
May trample in the dust,
And perjured lips to justice sworn,
Pronounce decrees accursed.

No power above shall rectify
  Such cruel Tyranny,
When man pronounces man a slave,
  God writes that man is free.

Terrific thought that gifted minds
  On earnest honored seat
Should cringe to power and basely seek
  Man's sense of right to cheat.

Decrees by earthly senates passed,
  Opposed to truth and love
Are stamped with God's veto seal
  In Heaven's courts above.

If measure meeted out to man
  Such measure brings again
What doom awaits the reckless hand,
  That rivets slavery's chain.

Death placed his signet on thy brow,
  Heaven called thy spirit home,
And thou canst well await the hour,
  Till thy oppressors come."

The third and last lines are not as good in thought as the other parts of the poem.

The last short poem is on "Life":

"My life has been a sunny stream
  O'r beds of golden sand
Still flowing onward through the vale
  Amid the flowering land.

The friends of youth were fair and true
  Their names to memory dear,
Still linger far adown life's stream
  And still thy spirit cheer.

To sow the golden grain of truth
  And wait the sun and shower,
Has been the labor of my life
  Through many a weary hour.

To reap the ever whitening fields
  And shout the harvest home
Have filled with joy my manhood's prime
  And shall for time to come."

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE.*

September 10, 1813.

BY MRS. JOHN T. MACK.

It was a fair morning in September, a gentle breeze was blowing down the lake, rippling the water. A little American fleet lay peacefully at anchor in the beautiful island-locked bay of South Bass Island, its brave young commander and sturdy men anxiously waiting for the sign of a coming hostile sail. A few days before, with the Union Jack vauntingly flying, they had passed the British forts at Malden, up at the head of the lake, behind which, under cover, lay the British fleet. The challenge to come out and fight in open water had been unheeded, and Perry and his men were waiting for something to turn up.

The sun was just coming up in a cloudless sky behind the slopes of the islands, when a messenger knocked at the commander's cabin door. The British fleet was in sight, coming down the lake. "The day has come at last!" exclaimed Lieutenant Elliott as he climbed up the side of the flagship Lawrence to get his commander's order. "The one we have long been wishing for," responded Perry. Quickly the plan of action was decided. Hurried orders were given. On the ship Lawrence, up from the halyards, rose the great blue flag, bearing to the breeze the dying words of the brave James Lawrence: "Don't give up the ship"—words that so soon were to be the sign by which a great battle was to be won and the fame of an American boy made immortal.

What a little fleet it was to win so great a victory!—Measured by modern standards of engineering warfare but a mere handful of small sailing vessels, rudely constructed; comprising, all told, but nine boats, some carrying but one or two guns, and all only fifty-four. The most effective of these were as

* Paper read by Mrs. Jno. T. Mack, of Sandusky, at the Second Annual Ohio State Conference Daughters of the American Revolution, Columbus, Ohio, October 31, 1900.

short in range as a pistol. One warship of Dewey's fleet could have torn them all to shreds. The crews numbering, all told, only about 400, were made up almost entirely of untried sailors and landsmen. But they were brave men, stirred with the spirit of patriots, and fired by love of country. Their commanders were all young officers, few of whom had seen actual service, but they felt that their nation's honor was in their keeping. How true it is that a righteous cause is half the victory already won.

The British fleet, on the other hand, was commanded by officers of experience in naval warfare. Commodore Barclay had seen service with the great Nelson in ocean warfare, and lost an arm in one of his battles on the Nile. His fleet comprised six vessels, three less than Perry's in number, but carrying sixty-six guns of longer range and larger calibre. Seamen trained to the service stood behind them and before the masts. Out from the little bay sailed Perry and his fleet, into the open water to the westward. The British fleet was slowly, but defiantly, coming down the lake upon them. The breeze dying away delayed the encounter. Close action was what young Perry wanted, and so it proved also wished his opponent, the brave Captain Barclay.

Not long had they to wait. Swinging hither and thither, their sails hanging lifeless, the little fleet of American vessels was indeed at the mercy of the wind—too far away to get into action, they could not come up to help the Lawrence, on which Perry had led and was soon to be under the British fire. At a quarter before twelve the British commander opened fire from his flagship, the Detroit. A gun from the Lawrence replied, but the shot fell into the water. It had carried scarcely two-thirds the way of its mark. Another shot from the British tore through the Lawrence and the brave Lieutenant Yarnell staggered bleeding, but rose to take his place again defiantly at the guns. Under such a fire, now joined in by the other British ships, stood the dauntless Perry and his determined crew, until the Lawrence was torn and riddled, and stripped of sail and mast, and the dead and wounded covered the decks and crowded the hatchways.

It was a terrible suspense! With the rest of the American fleet too far away to help, waiting a favorable breeze to bring them up to the ill-fated Lawrence fighting solitary and alone. There was no thought, however, of surrender. All Perry was seeking was a position where he could fight back. The Lawrence had ceased firing. "It is wasting powder and shot," exclaimed its commander. But God did not desert him—dark though it looked. Soon the Lawrence drifted in among the British boats—every brace and bow line shot away, and not a sail left to work. But her carronades were within range of the enemy's boats, and their shot began to tell. Down came the topmast of one of the English brigs. With seven guns that Perry found he could use, her motto flag still flying, the Lawrence stood her ground with thirty-two English guns concentrated upon her. It was a terrible ordeal, but the men on the Lawrence kept at it, as if to fight was the only thing to do, no matter what their fate.

Perry realized that to surrender the Lawrence would be a death blow to all chance of victory and held on. His men realized it as well as he. English shot went clear through the Lawrence; man after man at the guns was torn to pieces. Soon the brave Lieutenant Brooks fell. Again and again was the resistless Yarnell wounded, only to leave his post for the surgeon below, after the repeated order of his commander, only to return again. Four times was he wounded. How fortunate it was that in this terrible encounter of the Lawrence, Perry's life was spared. The dying words of Brooks were prophetic: "If Perry's life is saved he'll win us out of this." In that swift, single-handed engagement of the Lawrence with the entire British fleet, every American officer save Perry was wounded or killed, and three-fourths of the crew.

In the two hours of awful suspense and terrible conflict, a slight breeze had sprung up and the other vessels of Perry's fleet began to move slowly toward the line of battle. Unable to shift his own ship, now completely disabled and riddled, Perry seized upon a new plan. It came like an inspiration as he looked out toward his now slowly moving boats, still too far away. He ordered the little yawl boat manned. Two men who were

helping the surgeon care for the wounded and dying below had to be called, so shattered was his force on deck, and leaving the brave Yarnell in command he ordered down the motto flag, wrapped it about his arm and was a moment later being rowed away to the Niagara, the shot flying about his little craft and cutting the water all about him. This suddenly conceived, and as suddenly executed act of Perry marked the supreme moment in the great battle. It turned the tide of victory. The lowering of the motto from the Lawrence had, as it were, taken the enemy by surprise; the firing from their ships for the moment ceased. They looked only for the surrender flag to be hoisted. Once on board the Niagara, the motto flag, "Don't give up the ship," went swiftly up its halyards, and fluttered in the breeze as defiantly as a few moments before it had waved above the dead and dying on the decks of the Lawrence. Cheer after cheer went up from every American boat; the breeze seemed to catch the inspiration, and on, now swept the boats, the valiant Perry leading with the Niagara, his new flagship, right in among the British vessels. The battle raged fierce and hot on every ship. "Order close action!" commanded Perry, and the brave Elliott obeyed. "We're all right now," cried an old battle-scarred tar, as he saw Perry take command on the Niagara. Even the shattered ship Lawrence, almost deserted, had caught the spirit of victory. Up to the masthead had Yarnell hoisted the Stars and Stripes—her colors were at the peak. "Don't give up the ship!" rang in the ears of the brave Yankee seamen, and they fought with a desperate valor, daring and dash that fairly stunned the Red Coats. Their fire was swift, sure and terrible. Vessel after vessel of the British was in turn attacked, riddled, stripped of her masts and sail, and left helpless.

We all recall the words of Dewey as he gave the quiet command to fire at Manila. So Perry, nearly a century before, with like coolness, standing on the forward deck of a mere toy boat compared with Dewey's great Olympia, said:

"Have you the range there, Judson?" "You may fire."

The final encounter was soon over.

"Cease firing," came the order from Perry, as the smoke, clearing away, revealed a British officer coming to the bulwarks

of his disabled vessel, waving a white flag—that blessed harbinger of peace.

"Call away a boat," he said, "and put me on board the Lawrence. I will receive the surrender there."

Wounded men crawled to the ports to greet their victorious commander, and tears filled his eyes as he stepped upon the deck of his own vessel baptised in the blood of his countrymen. When British officer after officer of the defeated fleet came forward to offer his sword, the hero of Erie, in quiet recognition said: "I request that you will keep your sword. It has been bravely used and worn."

Grant at Appomattox was filled with like charity for a fallen foe. Somehow the spirit of liberty and of free institutions tends to nobility of soul. This was the simple message of Perry to his general in command, written upon the back of an old envelope:

U. S. Brig Niagara, off the Western Sister, Head of Lake Erie:
Sept. 10, 1813, at 4 p. m.

Dear General:—We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem,
O. H. Perry.

When the count was taken after the battle it was found that twenty-two men had been killed and sixty-one wounded on the flagship Lawrence; two killed and twenty-five wounded on the Niagara; on the Scorpion two killed, and one on the Arion; three wounded on the Caledonia, Somers and Trippe, making a total loss for the American fleet of twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded. The British loss in this battle was greater—forty-one being killed and ninety-four wounded. Twice had the British officer in command, Commodore Barclay, been wounded, and rendered helpless by injury to the only arm he had. The dead sailors of both fleets, each wrapped in a sailor's shroud of a hammock with a round shot at his heels were buried in the waters of Lake Erie. The next day the six dead officers—Midshipmen Henry Laub and John Clark and Lieutenant Brooks of the American fleet, and Captain Finnis, Lieutenant Stokes and Lieutenant Garland of the British fleet—were placed in

rudely constructed coffins and following a solemn procession of boats, rowing minute strokes to the sound of the solemn dirge of the band, were conveyed to the shore of Put-in-Bay Island for burial. The officers and surviving crews of both fleets followed and about the open grave stood the victorious Perry, supporting upon his arm the torn and shattered form of the brave Commodore Barclay.

The Battle of Lake Erie marked a turning point in the life of the young and struggling republic. It settled forever its supremacy upon the lakes that separate it from British territory. It did more than that. It opened the way for the victorious march of General Harrison and his army into the enemy's territory to the north, and made possible the settlement of the vast territory of the West and its development into the sisterhood of states that now crown our flag with their cluster of forty-five stars. That battle, though small both in numbers and instruments of warfare, was yet one of the great sea battles of the world—great because fought with a bravery and daring that startled the world—led by a commander who showed himself to be one of the world's heroes, and great because stupendous and far-reaching in its results.

Nearly four score years and ten have passed since the Battle of Lake Erie was fought and won. The graves of the six brave officers who lost their lives in that battle still remain unmarked by the nation. The spot where they sleep is but a few rods from the shore at the southern end of the village park of Put-in-Bay. For years only a willow tree marked it. Later a single chain supported by plain posts surrounded the sacred mound. The frosts and storms of time have shattered the willow that so many years swung and tossed above them as the blasts came sweeping in from off the waters where as foe to foe they had fought and fallen. Only a stump and a few ragged limbs now remain. Two or three years ago the people of Put-in-Bay secured from the government eight condemned cannon and eighty-five shells. They raised by private subscription, entertainments and otherwise about $500, paid the transportation on the cannon and placed them along the walk leading past the mound looking out over the bay and lake. The shells were built up in the form

of a pyramid over the graves of the dead heroes. Some years ago a bill was introduced in Congress by Hon. S. R. Harris, of Bucyrus, making an appropriation for a monument at Put-in-Bay. At the last session of Congress, Hon. Melville Bull, the member from the Newport district, Rhode Island, where Commodore Perry was born and lies buried, introduced a bill appropriating $25,000 for the same object.

The bill was reported favorably by the committee at the last session of Congress, and it is now pending on the calendar of the House. In a letter to the writer of this article Congressman Bull, under date of October 28, says:

"I am hopeful of securing its consideration and passage at the next session of Congress. Anything you and others at Sandusky and Put-in-Bay can do to assist my efforts will be greatly appreciated."

I give below the bill introduced by Mr. Bull and the report of the committee recommending the passage of the bill:

A bill providing for the erection of a monument at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, commemorative of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and those who participated in the naval battle of Lake Erie on the tenth day of September, eighteen hundred and thirteen.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the erection of a monument at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, to the memory of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and the men who fell or participated in the naval battle of Lake Erie, fought near Put-in-Bay, Ohio, on the tenth day of September, eighteen hundred and thirteen: Provided; That the money appropriated as aforesaid shall be expended under the direction of the secretary of the navy, and the plans, specifications, and designs for such monument shall, before any money so appropriated is expended, be first approved by the secretary of the navy: And provided further, That no part of the sum hereby appropriated shall be so expended until the Monument Association of Put-in-Bay, Ohio, shall procure not less than one-half acre of ground, located at or near the burial place of the officers and men who were killed in said battle of Lake Erie, upon which to erect said monument; and which site for said monument shall be procured without cost to the United States, and the title to be vested in the United States.

Mr. Cummings, from the committee on the library, submitted the following report:

The committee on the library, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 124) providing for the erection of a monument at Put-in-May, Ohio, commemorative of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and those who participated in the naval battle of Lake Erie on the tenth day of September, 1813, having considered the same, beg leave to report as follows:

The naval battle of Lake Erie, in which the American fleet under Commodore Perry defeated the British, is one of the most glorious events in our history as a nation. Perry was but 27 years of age; the timbers of his fleet were still green; his men were for the most part raw recruits. The British force was formed of veterans and commanded by Commodore Barclay, who had served under Nelson at Trafalgar. The victory was won by the desperate valor and consummate skill of the noble young seaman and his hardy followers. It established our supremacy on the Great Lakes, went far toward retrieving the disasters we had suffered on land, and aided in securing the important results that followed.

The remains of the American dead were buried on what is now Put-in-Bay Island. A willow tree marks the spot and is all there is to commemorate the memory of these noble men and their gallant victory. Your committee believe that an enlightened and grateful people should express their gratitude, respect and affection by a suitable memorial. The merit is not in the cold bronze or stone, but in the warm memories, the grateful feelings, the noble aspirations that it will stir in every true American heart.

No site can be more fitting than that where these brave men fought and where those who fell now sleep.

Your committee therefore recommend the passage of the bill.

It is indeed fitting that the simple story of the valor and the sacrifice of the brave men who fell in the great battle on Lake Erie be perpetuated in enduring marble and bronze, that the future generations of Americans may observe the lesson and have kindled afresh in their breasts love of our common country, and loyalty to the republic founded by the fathers, and forever established in the sisterhood of nations by the heroes of 1776 and 1812.

We read that next winter Congress is to be asked to appropriate $10,000 to raise from Misery Bay at Erie and preserve the Niagara on which Perry won his great victory. I hope it will be done. These landmarks of great events in the nation's life cannot be too sacredly cherished and preserved. But over and above all inanimate things let us fittingly commemorate the heroes who laid upon their country's altar their lives and thereby vouchsafed to future generations the rich heritage of a free and supreme republic.

LAUNCHING THE SHIP.

BY IDA ECKERT-LAWRENCE.

[This poem was written by Mrs. Lawrence and read by her as she stood by President McKinley, upon the occasion of the launching of the "Ohio" at San Francisco, May 18, 1901. Mrs. Lawrence is a native of Richland county, Ohio, and now a resident of Toledo. She is the author of the well-known little volume of poems entitled "Day Dreams."]

MRS. I. E. LAWRENCE.

I.

Oh! Star of empire! thou that went before
The pilgrim, in the misty days of yore,
When glad, the Son of Progress left the throne,
To pioneer Hesperian shores alone—
We owe to thee, with every passing hour,
A new world-life and liberty and power.
With bosom bare, and limbs of sturdy brawn,
The manly youth ran thro' the early dawn—
His buskined feet touched light the troubled deep,
His quest, to wake a dreaming world from sleep.
By sandy shores, o'er Alleghany's crest,
He paused to hear the valley's purring rest.
Far to the West, the flood-tides ceaseless measure
Broke o'er his soul in waves of living pleasure.

II.

Through the wild primeval forest,
Crept the youth with wondrous meaning—
Blazing trees for future heroes—
Waving wands with wizard seeming.
From the wigwam, came the cabin;
Birds soon flew the rifles crack;
And the plying locomotive
Drove the saddened red man back.

'Round the camp-fire chieftains marvelled
That the nature-dream was o'er;
Followed they the deer and bison,
Toward a friendly sun-down shore.
From the ashes of the cabin,
Mansions, farms and cities grand —
Lowly kine, and high-bred people
Sprang to bless this happy land.

Spirit-of-Ohio — goddess —
Ruled this land of inspiration;
And the son of Progress wed her —
Lo! their children lead the nation.
Proud the sire, — but discontented;
Undismayed — quailed not the wrack —
With his offspring, bold as Hector,
Drove the frontier border back.

III.

Afar, where the famed Golden Gate,
Swings low at the close of the day,
Bronzed Progress sits moulding a queen;
War's arbiter — fresh for the fray.
With furnace and smoke and fire,
With tackle and block and blow,
In steel, men clothe this bold desire,
In a fleece of flame below.

With hands that are horny with toil,
And a patient steady tread,
The ranks of men file in and out
To gather their harvest of bread —
With hammer and forge and flame,
With rivet and bolt and blade,
They bind her ribs to her monster frame.
'Tis a giant that man hath made.

Dark faces emboss with the glow
Of sunlight, o'er labors well done.
Men's arms gather strength with each blow
And the men and the ship are as one.
They know that the forges red glare
Touch oft where the higher sparks lay —
With cheers on the lips of the men,
They'll sigh when the ship heaves away.

Erect in her great wooden stall,
She yearns for her kingdom, the sea;
The Spirit–Ohio shall sever her chains,
And bid the fair captive go free;
To cut the brocade of the deep,
To walk by the feel of the land.
As Love fondly lingers round sleep,
So Faith puts her seal on her hand.

PERORATION.

Plunge out in thy baptismal fount
Oh! ship of the magical name;
Ride firm o'er the wave in thy pioneer way,
As men in the highway of fame—
Our men in the highway of fame.

If like a proud sea–gull, thy fate,
To ride on the billows away,
Over fathomless depths where the sea–monsters mate,
And fight o'er the flotsam of prey—
From lost vessels, the flotsam of prey—

The guerdon that hangs round thy name
And the sons of our bountiful soil,
Shall smite thy proud turrets with rancorous flame,
If thou dost e'er shame her with spoil—
Dost shame her with ill–gotten spoil.

Sail out on the high seas of State,
If foul blows the South wind or fair;
With homes to protect and the nation defend,
Our sons and our ship will be there—
Brave as Perry our ship will be there.

May the lust of the nation be lost
In Life's tide, where the deep soundings are;
Then Captain fear not, with our ensign on high,
To follow the pale of His star—
With cannon to follow His star.

Let Mercy stride free o'er the deck,
And Love from the bridge draw the sword;
Then firmly thou'lt scourge, with thy thunderous might,
The foe with the help of the Lord—
Wilt win with the help of the Lord.

FREMONT IN HISTORY.

BY JULIA M. HAYNES.

The Sandusky country, in aboriginal history, possesses a peculiar charm and fascinating interest. During that period of years which fills western annals with the story of intrigue and bloody conflict, the plains and prairies of the Sandusky valley were the home of the most powerful and most generous of the savage nations.

COL. GEO. CROGHAN.

Less than a century ago, these plains, now covered by a thriving city, presented an interesting variety of the scenes of Indian life—primitive agriculture, rude cabins, canoe-building, amusements and the council fire. Tradition goes back a century farther, and makes the locality of this city the seat of a still more interesting people; a people who, for a time, preserved existence by neutrality, while war, which raged with shocking ferocity, effected the extinction of the neighboring tribes. Nothing is known of the aboriginal occupation of Ohio previous to 1650, but, according to a tradition of the Wyandots, during the long and bloody wars between the Eastern and Western tribes, there lived upon the Sandusky, a neutral tribe of Wyandots, called the Neutral Nation. They occupied two villages, which were cities of refuge, where those who sought safety never failed to find it. These villages stood near the lower rapids of the Sandusky river, where Fremont now stands. This little band preserved the integrity of their tribe and the sacred character of peace makers. All who met upon their threshold met as friends, for the ground upon which they stood was holy. It

Paper read before the Ursula Wolcott Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Toledo, at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio, June 30, 1899, by Julia M. Haynes, daughter of Col. William E. Haynes, Fremont, O.

was a beautiful institution; "a calm and peaceful island looking out upon the world of waves and tempests." The Wyandot tradition represents them as having separated from the parent stock during the bloody wars with their own tribe and the Iroquois, and having fled to the Sandusky River for safety. The tradition runs, that, at the lower rapids, two forts were erected, one for the Iroquois or Six Nations, the other for their enemies. These traditions, handed down along the generations for nearly two centuries, may, perhaps, be inaccurate in detail, but the general fact of the existence of two such towns, near the head waters of navigation on the Sandusky River, is entitled to as much consideration as any other fact of early Indian history.

Just when the Wyandots finally migrated to the plains of the Sandusky, is not known. Colonel Smith, in his narrative, claims to have visited, in 1757, a town on the "Little Lake"—which was the name given Sandusky Bay—named Sunyendeand, which was probably in Erie county. Although he ascended the river, he makes no mention of a village at the lower rapids. "When we came to the fall of Sandusky," says the narrative, "we buried our birch bark canoes, as usual, at a large place, for that purpose, a little below the fall; at this place the river falls about eight feet over a rock, and it was with much difficulty that we pushed up our wooden canoes." The Wyandots were the guardians of the great council fire; they alone had the privilege of sending their messengers with the well known credentials, wampum and tobacco, to summon other tribes to meet their uncle, the Wyandot, when an important subject required deliberation.

The Wyandots were the keepers of the Grand Calumet, and were acknowledged to be at the head of the great Indian family. Lower Sandusky became the principal war seat of the Wyandots, and "Tarhe, the Crane," the principal war chief, lived here until Wayne's victory and the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Crane led his warriors from Lower Sandusky against General Wayne, and he, himself, carried the Grand Calumet.

The first mention of an Indian village at Lower Sandusky is made by Colonel Bouquet, in his report of 1764, where he speaks of the Wyandot village "Junque-in-dundeh," near the

falls of the Sandusky, on an Indian trail leading from Fort Pitt in a northwesterly direction. We have no satisfactory knowledge of this Indian village which occupied the hill, rising toward the east from the head waters of navigation, until about 1780 when the well known borderer, Samuel Brady, at the suggestion of George Washington, came here as a spy, to learn, if possible, the strength of the Indians and the geography of the country. The name Sandusky is derived from the language of the Wyandots. The pronunciation of the word was "Sa-un-dus-tee." Its signification has been a matter of some question and dispute, but, according to the best authorities, it meant "Water within water pools," or a river or water course where water stands in pools. The name having this peculiar signification, in early times, was used to designate the whole country along the Sandusky River, and the village at this point was called Lower Sandusky.

Affairs at Lower Sandusky during this long period of border war, extending from the opening of the Revolution to the celebrated victory of General Wayne, possesses a peculiar interest. This was an important military center, and every narrative relating to the place is a glimpse into the enemy's camp. The Wyandots had corn fields all along the river bottom, which were cultivated by the squaws and boys, each family having a small field with no fences between them. The plains now covered by the lower part of the city of Fremont were cleared land when first seen by white men and, except the tract used for the village, the councils, the racing and gaming, bore corn season after season. The northwestern part of Ohio being almost an impenetrable swamp, the Sandusky river became the common thoroughfare of all the Ohio tribes. War parties usually came to this point on foot, or on horses captured in the white settlements, and, when captives were to be taken further, as most of them were, canoes were used for transportation. Probably more captives were brought to Lower Sandusky than to any other place in Ohio. This place was a retreat where prisoners were brought and disposed of, many being sent to Detroit and Canada. So far as is known, not a prisoner was tortured here at the stake, and in most cases captives who had passed the gauntlet safely

and bravely, were kindly treated. A certain class of writers, who depend upon a vivid imagination to supply deficiencies of information, have made the Indian gauntlet an institution of the most shocking cruelty. It is true, severe tortures were often inflicted upon prisoners, the degree depending much upon their fortitude and presence of mind, for no people admired bravery as the Indians did. But the gauntlet was rather a place of amusement than punishment, unless the offence had been one worthy of particular revenge. The gauntlet track of the Wyandots, here at Lower Sandusky, has been almost positively located, on what is now North Front street in this city. According to the description, the lines of the savages extended from the corner of Front and Croghan streets, to the old Kessler House corner, and the council was probably held on the site of the business blocks on the west side of Front street. The fact that Daniel Boone was brought through Lower Sandusky, while in captivity, is worthy of mention, because of the celebrity of that unequalled hero of border annals.

About the year 1780, a party of negroes was captured by the Indians, in Virginia, and brought to the Sandusky River, where they were held as slaves. They were placed in charge of a peninsular tract of land, about six miles down the river, which they cultivated for the Indians, no doubt to the great satisfaction of the squaws, upon whom devolved all the menial labor. The peninsula became known as "Negro Point," or in common parlance "Nigger Bend," a name which is familiar to us all, and which it has retained ever since—a period of a century or more.

It should be remembered, that, in their treaties and conveyances of the Great West to Great Britain, the Indians did not part with their title to the land. They simply placed themselves under the protection of Great Britain and their lands were to be held in trust for them and their heirs. Hence, the Indians were justified in contending for the possession of their inheritance. True it is, they had no title papers, signed by man or by any human authority, but they believed that the Great Spirit had given them their happy hunting grounds, and when they saw the "pale faces" settling and building on their domains,

and killing the game which was given them to live upon, they were roused to resistance. They had no court to try their titles, but that court of last resort, the court of force, a trial by wager of battle and their arguments were not made by attorneys, but by the rifle, the tomahawk and the scalping knife. The recital of their cruelties curdles the blood with horror,—the burning of Colonel Crawford in 1782, the destruction of St. Clair's army in 1791, the butchery of Harmar's men, were attended by scenes and incidents of indescribable cruelty. The final contest over the right to occupy the Northwest took place on the banks of the Maumee River in 1794, in the battle of Fallen Timbers, and had a powerful influence in settling the title to the lands in Sandusky county. By the treaty of Greenville, the Indians ceded to the United States, among other parcels of land, "Two miles square at the lower rapids of the Sandusky River,"—which was the first land in Sandusky county ceded by the Indians to the United States. The tract was afterwards surveyed by the United States, and the lines of that survey are now the boundary lines of the city of Fremont. It is a fact worthy of note, and one of which we may well be proud, that the title to every foot of Ohio soil was honorably acquired from the Indians.

WAR OF 1812.

About seventeen years after the treaty of Greenville, the war commonly called the War of 1812, between the United States and Great Britain, was declared.

We, of Fremont, are fortunate in having here, in our midst, preserved nearly in its original form and appearance, by the thoughtfulness which set it apart and adorned it as a park, the place of one of those picturesque events of war, which from the first, fastened the public attention. It was not necessary to dig it out of oblivion, and there was no danger that any one should say that local pride had magnified a thing, which the world had forgotten. In every history of our country it has been caught up by the historian, as a brilliant picture with which to enliven his pages. Fort Stephenson was from the first an historic place, and Major Croghan's defence of it, was recognized

as an heroic act, worthy of being described in the noblest words that history can use.

In 1813 there was no city of Fremont. Even Lower Sandusky, as the spot was called, had not yet become a civilized town, and only marked the place, where a village of Wyandot Indians had long been known. Fort Stephenson covered the pretty knoll now occupied by the City Hall, Birchard Library and the Monument. But what was it? A feeble earthwork, surrounded by a ditch and stockade, with a little block house at the southwest corner, which served as a sort of a bastion to sweep the ditch. Its garrison was a mere handful of men; its only artillery a single six-pound gun. No legalized white settlement had, at this time, been made on the lake shore in Ohio, west of the new village of Cleveland, as the tide of civilized migration had only lately crossed the Ohio. The whole northwestern quarter of the state, therefore, was Indian territory, and its tribes, confederated by the genius of Tecumseh, a man of no ordinary power, were banded with the red nations of Indiana and the great West, to resist the further advance of the whites. The forts were only isolated outposts, in the midst of the hostile territory, built to protect the communications of the army, with the more distant posts at Chicago and Detroit. For this purpose Fort Stephenson was built, here at Lower Sandusky, on the hostile side of the river, so that a crossing might always be in the power of our troops. Here was the promise of a frontier place of importance, both for trade with the Indians, in times of peace, and a depot of supplies for interior settlements, as they might be formed. The name Stephenson was probably given to the fort, owing to the fact that Colonel Stephenson at one time commanded the post, and it is supposed to have been built under his direction in 1812. The walls of the fort were made of logs, some round and some flat on one side, averaging about eighteen inches thick and ten feet high, set perpendicularly in the earth, each picket crowded closely against the other, and sharpened at the top. The walls inclosed about one acre of ground, on a bluff formed by the hills, bounding the valley of the river on the east, and a ravine, running in a northeasterly direction, cutting through the bluff north of the fort. After

Major Croghan arrived at Fort Stephenson he labored day and night to place it in a state of defence. He had a ditch six feet deep and nine feet wide dug around it outside, throwing the earth against the foot of the pickets, and grading it sharply down to the bottom of the ditch. Later in the year an additional area, equal to the area of the original fort, was added to the enclosure. In order to prevent the enemy from scaling the walls, should they succeed in leaping the ditch, Major Croghan had large logs placed on the top of the fort, and so adjusted that the least weight would cause them to fall from their position, and crush all who might be below. Fort Stephenson was wisely located to give protection to our growing settlements, and to become the nucleus of a vigorous colony. It is only when we remember all this that we fully appreciate its military importance, and the necessity of holding it with a firm and determined grasp.

About this time, the English, taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the Indians, as they supposed they had the right to do, made alliance with them, and gave Tecumseh the rank of a general in their army. Out of this alliance, grew the great peril of the frontier. Only a little while before, the fort where Chicago now stands had surrendered, upon a promise of protection to the lives of the garrison, by the English, but the savages had disregarded the agreement which the English troops were not strong enough to enforce, and the prisoners had been massacred. A still more fearful and hopeless peril lurked about the cabin door of every white settler of the West. Even death by the tomahawk and scalping knife seemed mercy itself compared to the atrocious tortures which all the tribes, but the Wyandots, were in the habit of inflicting upon their captives, and of which we have so fearful a picture in the blood-curdling story of the capture and death of Colonel Crawford, a little earlier in our history. It may well have been, that the expectation of such a fate, if they surrendered, nerved the hearts and arms of Major Croghan and his little garrison, to dare any fate but that, and to resolve to die, if need be, but never to be taken.

Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison, a wise and brave man, who, both before and afterward, signalized his courage and his skill,

was in command of the department at this time, with headquarters at Fort Seneca, or Seneca Town, as it was sometimes called, about nine miles south of Fort Stephenson. Several days before the British had invested Fort Meigs, General Harrison, with Major Croghan and some other officers, had examined the heights which surround Fort Stephenson and, as the hill on the opposite side of the river was found to be the most commanding eminence, the General had some thought of removing the fort to that place, and Major Croghan declared his readiness to undertake the work. But the General did not authorize him to do it, as he believed that, if the enemy intended to invade our territory again, they would do it before the removal could be completed. It was then finally concluded that the fort, which was calculated for a garrison of only 200 men, could not be defended against the heavy artillery of the enemy; and that, if the British should approach it by water, which would cause a presumption that they had brought their heavy artillery, the fort must be abandoned and burned, provided a retreat could be effected with safety.

In the orders left with Major Croghan, it was stated, "Should the British troops approach you in force, with cannon, and you discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so immediately, destroying all the public stores. You must be aware that an attempt to retreat in the face of an Indian force would be vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number."

General Harrison had been for a short time at Upper Sandusky, several miles further south, hastening the assembling of a little army with which he hoped to take the aggressive, and was sorely disappointed by the slow rate at which his reinforcements could thread the paths of the new country. Three or four hundred dragoons were all he had when the news of Proctor's expedition reached him. A regiment from Kentucky was on its way but had not yet arrived. On the evening of the 29th of July General Harrison received word from General Clay, that the enemy had abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs and, as the Indians on that day had swarmed in the woods around his camp, he entertained no doubt but that an immediate attack

was intended, either on Fort Stephenson or Fort Seneca. He therefore called a council of war, consisting of Generals MacArthur, Cass, Ball and others, who were unanimously of the opinion that Fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery and that, as the enemy could bring, with facility, any quantity of battering cannon against it, by which it must inevitably fall, and as the post contained nothing the loss of which would be felt, that the garrison should not be reinforced but with drawn and the place destroyed. In pursuance of this decision the General immediately despatched the order to Major Croghan, directing him to abandon Fort Stephenson at once, set it on fire and repair with his command to headquarters. This order was sent by a Mr. Conner and two Indians, who lost their way in the dark and did not reach Fort Stephenson until 11 o'clock the next day. When Major Croghan received it he was of the opinion that he could not then retreat with safety, as the Indians were hovering around the fort in considerable force. He called a council of his officers, a majority of whom coincided with him in the opinion that a retreat would be unsafe, and that the post could be maintained against the enemy, at least until further instructions could be received from headquarters.

Such a command as Major Croghan had received, probably seemed to a young officer, to imply a suspicion of his valor or his capacity, and, stung perhaps, by this view of it Major Croghan sent back a reply which well nigh cost him his commission. He said: "Sir, I have just received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock p. m., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can." Major Croghan was at once relieved of the command and ordered to General Harrison's headquarters in arrest, but when the General saw the man, and knew that his confidence was that of true courage and no mere vaporing, he easily accepted the explanation that the terms of Croghan's reply had been worded with the expectation that the dispatch might fall into the enemy's hands, and that in that case he wished to impress them with the danger of an assault; and he sent

the young hero back to resume his command just as the British entered the river.

The portrait of Colonel Croghan, which, through the kindness of General Hayes, was placed in Birchard Library, and with which we, of Fremont, are so familiar, well bespeaks the character of young Croghan, and his singular beauty of person. Only twenty-one years of age, full of the hardy courage of the frontier, an experienced woodsman, you can not look upon that face without feeling that it represents one of nature's noblemen; full of intellect and feeling, as well as of soldierly courage and hardihood. It was a happy conjuncture for his country when the time and the man thus came together.

A reconnoitering party, which had been sent from headquarters to the shore of the lake, about twenty miles from Fort Stephenson, discovered the approach of the enemy, by water, on the evening of the 31st of July. They returned, by the fort after 12 o'clock the next day, and had passed it but a few hours when the enemy made their appearance. The Indians showed themselves first on the hill, across the river, and were saluted by a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, which soon caused them to retire. In about half an hour the British gunboats came in sight, and the Indian forces displayed themselves in every direction, with a view to intercept the garrison, should a retreat be attempted. The six-pounder was fired a few times at the gunboat, and the fire was returned by the artillery of the enemy. A landing of their troops, with a five and a half-inch howitzer, was effected about a mile below the fort and Major Chambers, accompanied by Dickson, was dispatched towards the fort with a flag, and was met, on the part of Major Croghan, by Ensign Shipp of the Sixteenth Regiment. After the usual ceremonies, Major Chambers observed that he was instructed by General Proctor to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, which he could not do should he be under the necessity of reducing it, by the powerful force of artillery, regulars and Indians at his command. Ensign Shipp replied that the commandant of the fort and its garrison were determined to defend it to the last extremity, and that no force, however great, could

induce them to surrender, as they were resolved to maintain their post or to bury themselves in its ruins.

Dickson then said that their immense body of Indians could not be restrained from murdering the whole garrison, in case of success, and urged them to surrender and prevent the dreadful massacre that would be caused by their resistance. Mr. Shipp replied that when the fort was taken there would be none to massacre, as it would not be given up while a man was able to resist. The enemy now opened their fire from their six-pounders in the gunboats and the howitzer on shore, which they continued through the night with but little intermission and very little effect. The forces of the enemy consisted of 500 regulars and about 800 Indians, commanded by Dickson, the whole being commanded by General Proctor in person. Tecumseh was stationed on the road to Fort Meigs, with a body of 2000 Indians, expecting to intercept a reinforcement on that route. Major Croghan, through the evening, occasionally fired his six-pounder; at the same time changing its place often to induce a belief that he had more than one piece. As it produced very little effect on the enemy, and he was desirous of saving his ammunition, he soon discontinued firing. The enemy had directed their fire against the northwest angle of the fort, which induced the commander to believe that an attempt to storm the works would be made at that point. In the night Captain Hunter was directed to secretly remove the six-pounder to a block house, from which it would rake that angle. The embrasure was masked and the piece loaded with a double charge of slugs and grape shot.

Early in the morning of August 2 the enemy opened fire from their howitzer and their six-pounders, which they had landed in the night and planted in a point of woods about 250 yards from the fort, which convinced Major Croghan that they would endeavor to make a breach and storm the works at that point. He therefore strengthened that place as much as possible, with bags of flour and sand, which was so effectual that the picketings in that place sustained no material injury. Late in the evening, when the smoke of the firing had completely enveloped the fort, the enemy proceeded to make the assault.

Two feints were made toward the southern angle, where Captain Hunter's lines were formed, and at the same time a column of 350 men was discovered advancing through the smoke within twenty paces of the northwestern angle. A heavy, galling fire was now opened upon the enemy from the fort, which threw them into some confusion. Colonel Short, who was at the head of the principal column, soon rallied his men and led them with great bravery to the brink of the ditch. After a momentary pause he leaped into the ditch, calling to his men to follow him, and in a few moments it was full. The masked port-hole was now opened and the six-pounder, at a distance of thirty feet, poured such destruction among them that but few who had entered the ditch were fortunate enough to escape. Colonel short, while ordering his men to cut down the pickets and give the Americans no quarter, fell, mortally wounded, and, hoisting his white handkerchief on the end of his sword, begged for that mercy which he had a moment before ordered to be denied to his enemy.

A precipitate and confused retreat was the immediate consequence of the encounter, although some of the officers attempted to rally their men. The other column, led by Colonel Warburton and Major Chambers, was also routed in confusion by a destructive fire from the line commanded by Captain Hunter. The whole of them fled into an adjoining wood, beyond the reach of our arms. During the assault the enemy kept up an incessant fire from their howitzer and five six-pounders. They left Colonel Short and twenty-five privates dead in the ditch. The number of prisoners taken was twenty-six, most of them badly wounded. The total loss of the British and Indians was 150. The loss of the garrison was one killed and seven slightly wounded—Samuel Thurman, the one man of the garrison who was killed, met his death through his desire to shoot a red coat. He climbed to the top of the block house and, while peering over, a six-pound ball from the enemy's cannon, took off his head.

The assault lasted only about half an hour. The dark storm cloud that had been hovering over the West passed northward; a gentle breeze from the southwest bore the smoke of

battle far away over the forest, toward Lake Erie, and in the lonely twilight of that memorable Sabbath evening the brave young Croghan addressed his gallant little band with eloquent words of praise and grateful thanksgiving. As the night and the silence deepened, and the groans of the wounded in the ditch fell upon his ears, his generous heart beat with sympathy. Buckets filled with water were let down by ropes from the outside of the pickets and, as the gates of the fort could not be opened with safety during the night, he made a communication with the ditch by means of a trench, through which the wounded were borne into the little fortress and their necessities supplied.

All who were able preferred, of course, to follow their defeated comrades and many others were carried from the vicinity of the fort by the Indians, particularly their own killed and wounded. About 3 o'clock in the morning the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat. So great was their precipitation that they left a sailboat containing some clothing and a considerable quantity of military stores, and the next day seventy stands of arms and some braces of pistols were collected around the fort. Their hurry and confusion were caused by the apprehension of an attack by General Harrison, of whose position and force they had probably received an exaggerated account.

It was the intention of General Harrison, should the enemy succeed against Fort Stephenson, or should they turn his left and fall on Upper Sandusky, to leave his camp at Fort Seneca and fall back to the latter place. But by the firing on the evening of the 1st he discovered that the enemy had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression on the fort, and he knew that an attempt to storm it, without making a breach, could be successfully repelled by the garrison. He therefore determined to wait for the arrival of 250 mounted volunteers, approaching by the way of Upper Sandusky, and then to march against the enemy and raise the siege if possible. He sent scouts to ascertain the situation and force, but the woods were so infested with Indians that none of them could proceed near enough to the fort to make the necessary discoveries. About 9 o'clock in the evening Major Croghan had ascertained, from

their collecting about their boats, that the enemy were preparing to embark and had immediately sent word to General Harrison, who, determined to wait no longer for the reinforcements, immediately set out with the dragoons for Fort Stephenson. The road by which he came follows an old Indian trail, meandering the river all the way until it approaches Fremont, where it passes through Spiegel Grove and, winding around through the town, turns northwestward toward Fort Meigs and the Maumee. It was known as the "Harrison trail" and, though crooked and sometimes almost impassable, was at least a guide through the Black Swamp, which travelers could follow without fear of losing their way.

General Harrison reached the fort early in the morning, having ordered Generals MacArthur and Cass to follow him, with all the disposable infantry, at that place. Finding that the enemy had fled entirely from the fort, so as not to be reached by him, and learning that Tecumseh was near Fort Meigs with 2000 warriors, he sent the infantry back to Fort Seneca, lest Tecumseh should make an attack on that place. In his official report of this affair General Harrison observes that: "It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications that he has been baffled by a youth who had just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, Gen. Geo. R. Clarke."

"Too much praise," said Major Croghan, "can not be bestowed on the officers and privates under my command for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege." The brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel was immediately conferred on Major Croghan by the President of the United States for his valorous conduct on this occasion, and his gallantry was further acknowledged by a joint resolution of Congress, approved in February, 1835, presenting to him a gold medal and a sword to each of the officers under his command.

Of the life of Colonel Croghan we know very little, except that he was a native of Kentucky, having been born near Louisville in 1791. His father, Major Wm. Croghan, was a native of Ireland and a gallant soldier of the Revolution. He received a good education, graduated at William and Mary College in Vir-

ginia, and soon afterward began the study of law. In 1811 he volunteered as a private, was appointed aide to General Harrison and distinguished himself in the battle of Tippecanoe. After the declaration of war with Great Britain he was appointed Captain in the Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry and was made Major in 1813. He again distinguished himself at the memorable sieges of Fort Meigs, and in July, 1813, was placed in command of Fort Stephenson. He was made Inspector General of the Army in 1825, and in that capacity served with General Taylor in Mexico in 1846-7. He died in New Orleans in 1849.

The Fort Stephenson fight was typical of its period. It was, at once, part of the struggle for independence and a type of the desperate conflict of the frontiersman with savage hordes, with wild beasts and with the unsubdued wilderness itself.

Immediately associated with Colonel Croghan's victory are the frontier names of the pioneer history of the West—General Harrison, Commodore Perry, General Cass, General MacArthur, Governor Meigs and a long list of other men, whose names were household words in the homes of the first settlers of this region, were all closely identified with the military events which hinged upon the brilliant victory which was gained here and which decided the struggle for the vast and noble territory which is tributary to the Great Lakes of the Northwest.

General Sherman, in speaking several years ago, of the strategic value of the triumphant defence of Fort Stephenson, said: "The defence of Fort Stephenson by Croghan and his gallant little band was the necessary precursor to Perry's victory on the lake, and of General Harrison's triumphant victory at the "Battle of the Thames." These assured to our immediate ancestors the mastery of the Great West, and from that day to this the West has been the bulwark of the nation.

The heroes of the Revolution have all passed away, and very few of the War of 1812 are still living. Sergeant Wm. Gaines, about fifteen years ago, was the only surviving member of Croghan's brave band and now, he too, has joined the silent majority.

We still have with us, however, the old iron gun that did such faithful service on that bright August day, nearly eighty-six

years ago. After the War of 1812 it was sent to the Government Arsenal at Pittsburg, and remained there until about 1851, when Mr. Brice J. Bartlett, then mayor of Fremont, conceived the design of procuring the old gun as a relic, to be kept at the place it so greatly aided to defend. He sent a soldier who had helped use the gun in Fort Stephenson to Pittsburg, to identify it by some peculiar mark on the breech and, by persistent effort, finally succeeded in locating it and ordered it sent to Lower Sandusky. But there were then several Sanduskys and, by some mistake, the old gun was sent to Sandusky City, where, I believe, there never was a battle. But the Sandusky people wanted to keep the gun and a sharp controversy arose in regard to it. They, however, it is said, to secure the gun against seizure, buried it. But Mr. Bartlett, not to be foiled, employed a detective, who, finally learning where the gun was buried, and aided by others, went to Sandusky, uncovered the cannon and brought it back to its old resting place. The garrison, it is said, named the gun "Good Bess." In 1852, on August 2, at a celebration of Croghan's splendid victory here, Mr. Thomas L. Hawkins, a Methodist local preacher, who was also a poet, read a poem which was a salutation to the old six-pounder, in which he addressed her as "Betsey Croghan," a name by which the gun has ever since been known. In another poem on Colonel Croghan's victory at Fort Stephenson, this poet calls the gun "Our Bess."

Historically, the heart of the city of Fremont is Fort Stephenson Park, with its City Hall, its monument and its public library, while the historic Betsey Croghan and other disused cannon add a sterner touch to the scene.

Within the memory of many present citizens of Fremont the place was little more than a frontier settlement, and the few houses scarcely more than huts and shanties. The change in the past fifty years has been striking, and even the name of the place is not the same, for in 1850 it was changed from Lower Sandusky to Fremont, in honor of the famous "Pathfinder."

SPIEGEL GROVE.

Spiegel Grove, whose hospitality we now enjoy, is also a storied region full of charm and legend for the student of the

past. What the term means is a question often asked and seldom answered. Spiegel is the German word for "Mirror" and in the uncleared, boggy woods of fifty years ago, one could probably see his reflection almost anywhere in the tangled swamp land. As the mirror has long been a symbol of superstition, so the myths and legends have always hung thick about the old woods.

The place was purchased many years ago by Mr. Sardis Birchard, one of our most honored citizens, the uncle and guardian of our great citizen, ex-President Hayes, and was by him named Spiegel Grove. Here Mr. Birchard passed many years of his life, and here the young attorney, the Colonel, the General, the Representative, the Governor and the President used to come to visit, until, after his retirement from the presidency, General Hayes enlarged the house and brought his family here for permanent residence. His delight in the place was always very great. He was acquainted with every tree and shrub in it. He set out choice varieties, sent him from China and Japan and the isles of the sea, and he gathered historic plants from everywhere. Here he would show the visitor a weeping willow with a famous pedigree, its ancestors running back to Washington's grave at Mount Vernon; and to Napoleon's at St. Helena; farther on, a sapling from an acorn of the charter oak; and in another place venerable oaks, under which an ancestor camped during the War of 1812, or to which was tied a captive maid by the Indians, while a swift runner went to Detroit to obtain her release. Here also General Hayes set out the "Lucy Hayes Chapel," in young walnut trees, and in almost every direction are beautiful vistas through the woods and across the valley, and the identical drive to which I have before alluded down which General Harrison brought his troops in 1813, on his way to Fort Stephenson.

BIRCHARD LIBRARY.

"The opening of a free public library," says James Russell Lowell, "is the most important event in the history of any town," and as this was what Mr. Sardis Birchard, the generous founder

of our public library, wished to do for the people of this county, he was moved in 1873 to set aside the sum of fifty thousand dollars for the establishment of Birchard Library.

At an early day after the village of Lower Sandusky was chartered, it was suggested that the site of the fort should be purchased and preserved as a memorial of those who so bravely defended it, and an act of the Legislature empowered the village to do so, but the owner of the property being unwilling to sell it, the project was for the time abandoned. Among those who had been particularly desirous that the site should be purchased by the city, was Mr. Birchard. It was his earnest wish that the library should be located on the site of the old fort, and that the city should own the ground for a park.

General Hayes, and a few other public spirited citizens, interesting themselves in the matter, the whole block was purchased at a cost of about thirty thousand dollars, and the Library Association and the city are now joint owners of the square. The citizens of this place, it seems to me, have shown commendable zeal in doing themselves, without any outside assistance, that for which other cities have asked appropriations from the State.

The people of Fremont have dedicated the ground so heroically defended by Major Croghan and his brave men to their memory forever, and have further consecrated it, by erecting upon it a stately monument which, for years to come shall tell the unadorned tale of their sacrifices, and, ages after the stone itself has crumbled into dust, history shall transmit the record.

Surely, the occasion is worthy a monument to the skies and the granite soldier looking down from its summit is a proper guardian for the site of Fort Stephenson, one of the most memorable of all our historic places.

Fremont, Ohio, June 30, 1899.

PRE-HISTORIC EARTHWORKS OF RICHLAND COUNTY.

BY A. J. BAUGHMAN.

Secretary Richland County Historical Society.

"Here stand mounds, erected by a race
Unknown in history or in poets' songs."

In our own county we see evidences of a pre-historic people whose origin and fate are unknown. We know of them only by the monuments they reared in the form of earth-works, and as these principally are mounds, we call the people who made them "Mound Builders." The term is not a distinguishing one, for people the world over have been mound builders, more or less, from generation to generation.

In no other country are earth-works more plainly divided into classes than here in America. In some places fortified hills and eminences suggest the citadel of a tribe or people. Again, embankments, circular or square, separate and in combination, enclosing, perhaps, one or more mounds, excite our curiosity, but fail to satisfy it, and we ask, "Are these fading embankments the boundaries of sacred enclosures, or the fortifications of a camp, or the foundations on which were built communal houses?"

In the Blackfork valley—especially the part taken from Richland and given to Ashland county—there are numerous mounds and other earth-works, but only a few can be considered in the limit of this paper.

On the southwest quarter of section 17, Green township, half a mile northwest of Greentown, there was in the years agone a circular embankment embracing about half an acre of ground. The embankment was about five feet in height in the days of old Greentown. There was a "gate-way" to the west, about twelve feet wide. In the center of the enclosure there was a mound into which excavations were made about fifty years ago to the depth of nine feet, which appeared to be the depth of the artificial work. Coal, wood and feathers were found in the lower strata.

Within a mile east of Greentown there was a similar embankment, embracing an acre of ground, but there was no mound within this enclosure.

The Parr "fort" was a circular earth-work, about seven feet high and twelve to fourteen feet in diameter at the base. It enclosed an area of about three acres. Very near it on the east side, stood a large mound, from which copper beads and stone implements have been taken. About 70 years ago the late Dr. Henderson had these mounds opened, and in them were found human bones, decayed wood, charcoal, a stone pipe and a copper wedge. The wedge created quite a sensation at the time, as it was supposed to be gold.

The Darling "fort," in the Clearfork valley, below St. Johns, was another earth-work containing nearly three acres. When first discovered by Judge Peter Kinney, in 1810, its embankments were about three feet high, covered with forest trees centuries old. In this "fort," stone axes and other implements were found.

There is a small mound at the northern limit of the city of Mansfield near the "Medicine Spring." It is about fifteen rods in length and five in breadth. This mound or knoll is, perhaps, a natural elevation, although some think it is an artificial mound on account of its geometrical proportions and its geographical alignment, and its "eastern position" suggests that it might have been built for an altar upon which to offer religious rites. It is not known that any exhumation has ever been made, and the origin of the knoll, whether natural or artificial, is a matter of conjecture.

The Lafferty mound, about which there is so much speculative query as to whether its formation was of geological or archæological origin, with about an equal division of opinion, is situate four miles east of Bellville, on Uriah Lafferty's farm.

The mound is 100 feet in height and its base covers an area of six acres. It is oblong in shape, extending east and west, and is as symmetrical as though it had been planned by an architect and rounded with a mason's trowel.

The size of the mound does not preclude the probability that it is an artificial earth-work, for Nebuchadnezzar built a mound

four times as high within the walls of the city of Babylon, to please a caprice of his wife.

As the Lafferty mound has never been opened nor scientifically examined, theories as to its origin and formation are largely speculative.

The valley in which the Lafferty mound stands has been called the garden-spot of Richland county, and is as beautiful in its scenic landscapes as it is rich and productive in its soil.

From the summit of the mound, the view to the west is one of enhancing beauty. In the distance, hill-tops notch the horizon and lift their green crowns in a summer day, through the clear, soft atmosphere into the azure sky, making a landscape view of unsurpassing loveliness.

There is an ancient earth-work two miles east of Mansfield that is but little known by our people of to-day, although it was surveyed and mapped by the county surveyor in October, 1878. It is situate on the Balliett farm, and is approached by the road leading east from the top of the Sherman hill, and is the most noted of its kind within the present limit of Richland county.

These works are upon an elevation at the east side of the head of Spook Hollow, and consist of an opal-shaped embankment or fort 594 feet long, by 238 feet wide in the center, and contains two and two-thirds acres. Southwest of the fort, 710 feet, there is a spring at the side of the ravine from which a copious flow of water issues in all seasons of the year.

Directly south of the "fort," upon the side of the hill leading to the old stage road, is the furnace which is an excavation walled with stone like a well and is called a "furnace," as charcoal, charred bones and evidences that fire had been used there were found at the bottom of the drift with which the place was filled. This "furnace" is about five feet across, is circular in form and its uses and purposes must be conjectured.

At the east side of the fort there were a number of depressions, varying from four to twenty feet, but they have been so filled up in the tilling of the land as to be nearly obliterated. In excavating one of these depressions at the time of the survey, at a depth of eight feet, a drift was struck leading toward the fort. Geographically, the "fort" was platted upon longitudinal lines and

upon geometrical measurements, and the depressions were variously located with relative mathematical distances, all giving evidences that the people who planned and made and occupied these works were well advanced in mathematics.

Since their day and occupancy large forest trees have grown upon these earth-works — trees of at least six centuries' growth. These works are relics of that pre-historic age of which much has been written and but little is known. The perspective view of the fort in the outline is still discernible from the road, and the location was well chosen, as it commands a fine view of the valley opening to the south. Looking over and beyond Spook Hollow, which with its weird traditions, lies at the base of the hill, a valley of gardenlike loveliness is presented and the landscape picture extends for miles, embracing the hills in the far distance, amid which the spire upon the church steeple at Cesarea can be seen.

What connection, if any, existed between the Mound Builders and the Indians is yet unsettled. But it appears certain that many years before Columbus discovered America, the Mound Builders had settlements here in Richland county, as these ancient earthworks attest. That the people were not unacquainted with war is shown by their numerous fortified enclosures. These mounds and other antiquities give us some knowledge of a people that lived here when civilization was but in the dawn in Europe. The history of our own country is at least as interesting as that of the land of Pharaohs, or of storied Greece, for here we see evidence of an ancient culture, as well as the footprints of a vanished people.

It is claimed by writers that the Mound Builders were of Asiatic origin and were, as a people, immense in numbers and well advanced in many of the arts. Similarity in certain things indicates that they were of Phœnician descent. Of the Mound Builders, we have speculated much, and know but little.

A local writer claimed that the Richland-Ashland mounds do not belong to the pre-historic class — that they were made at a more recent period, that they were built in the 17th century by the Eries to protect their people from the invasions of the Iroquois tribe.

When Judge Kinney and party felled trees that had grown upon the earth-works at the Darling "fort," the "growths" showed that the trees had been growing there several centuries before the war between the Eries and the Six Nations. The same is true of the "fort" near Spook Hollow, and at other places.

When looking at the past, let us recognize the fact that nations as well as individuals pass away and are forgotten.

Some of our mounds were used as sepulchres for the dead, and should not be desecrated — even in the interest of historical research and investigation.

An old-time poet wrote:

"Oh, Mound! consecrated before
The white man's foot e'er trod on shore,
To battle's strife and valour's grave,
Spare! oh, spare, the buried brave!

"A thousand winters passed away,
And yet demolished not the clay,
Which on yon hillock held in trust
The quiet of the warrior's dust.

"The Indian came and went again;
He hunted through the lengthened plain;
And from the mound he oft beheld
The present silent battlefield.

"But did the Indian e'er presume,
To violate that ancient tomb?
Ah, no! he had the soldier's grace
Which spares the soldier's resting place.

"It is alone for Christian hand
To sever that sepulchral band,
Which ever to the view is spread,
To bind the living to the dead."

Some may say why attempt to roll back the flight of years to learn of a pre-historic people, for the search-light of investigation makes but little impression on the night of time. We have no data on which to base an estimate as to the antiquity of man, but we can contemplate the great periods of geological times, and the infinite greatness of the works of creation, as disclosed by Astronomy, with man's primeval condition, as made evident by archæology, and exclaim: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him!"

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[It has been usual heretofore to delay the printing of the proceedings of the annual meeting for the yearly report of the secretary to the Governor and the Society, made at the end of the calendar year. But hereafter the report of the annual meeting will appear in the succeeding issue of the QUARTERLY.— SEC'Y.]

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the parlors of the Y. M. C. A. Building, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:30 P. M., April 26, 1901. The following members were present:

Prof. C. E. Albright	Columbus.
Judge J. H. Anderson	Columbus.
E. H. Archer	Columbus.
Gen. John Beatty	Columbus.
Geo. F. Bareis	Canal Winchester.
Gen. R. Brinkerhoff	Mansfield.
Prof. Geo. A. Chambers	Columbus.
Judge M. D. Follett	Marietta.
Hon. C. B. Galbreath	Columbus.
Hon. Stephen R. Harris	Bucyrus.
Hon. R. E. Hills	Delaware.
Hon. Geo. U. Harn	Columbus.
Gen. Warren Keifer	Springfield.
Rev. I. F. King	Columbus.
Rev. N. B. C. Love	Deshler.
Hon. A. R. McIntire	Mt. Vernon.
Prof. C. F. Martzolff	New Lexington.
W. A. Mahoney	Columbus.
W. H. Miars	Wilmington.
Dr. D. L. Moore	Columbus.
Prof. Warren K. Moorehead	Saranac Lake, N. Y.
Prof. B. F. Prince	Springfield.
E. O. Randall	Columbus.
Dr. J. C. Reeve	Dayton.
Dr. W. H. Scott	Columbus.
Col. W. A. Taylor	Columbus.
Rev. H. A. Thompson	Dayton.
Hon. E. E. White	Columbus.
Edwin F. Wood	Columbus.
Prof. G. Frederick Wright	Oberlin.
Gen. George B. Wright	Columbus.

Gen. Brinkerhoff presided. E. O. Randall, Secretary, was called upon for the minutes of the previous annual (Fifteenth) meeting. The Secretary explained that the minutes of that meeting, held on February 1, 1900, were inscribed in full in his minute book, and would require lengthy reading if given in detail. A synopsis of the material part was incorporated in his Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society to the Governor, made January 1, 1901, and printed in the Society's Quarterly for January, 1901, page 383, et seq. The Secretary then read that condensed report. This report of the proceedings of the previous annual meeting was received and approved. The Secretary then supplemented his report by extended remarks upon the more important features of the past year's work. He reminded the Society that we still do not own the Ridge Tract comprising some twenty acres at the northern end of Ft. Ancient. He hoped that would be secured at the proper figure at the earliest possible moment. The Society had in its Quarterly for April, 1901, completed the ninth volume of its publications. It was probably the best volume yet issued. The last legislature (74th) had appropriated the sum of $5,600 for the reprinting of the annual volumes, 1 to 8 inclusive — each member of the General Assembly to receive ten complete sets for their personal disposal. Those books had been printed and sent to the respective legislative members. Circulars had been sent at the same time to the members, requesting that as far as possible they distribute these volumes to the libraries, schools and colleges. This many of the members reported they had done, returning to the Secretary lists of the recipients. This output meant the distribution of 1,500 sets or 12,000 books of the Society throughout the state. It would be a great educational feature and a great impetus to the work of the Society.

In the Summer of 1900 the Secretary made a tour of visitation to the State Historical Societies of the eastern, middle and middle western states. A full account of this tour was given in the October Quarterly of 1900, page 243. The finding of that trip is that nearly all of the states visited have provided, in some way, spacious and costly buildings or suitable quarters for their societies. In that feature most of those states surpass us. Our

Ohio Society, however, is superior to any other in the country in the archæological line of work, and in the extent and value of its museum collection. We have long ago outgrown our quarters. But no state, excepting possibly Wisconsin, is so generous in its appropriations, as is Ohio to our Society. Our Legislature is prepared to grant us almost any reasonable request. Probably no State Society in the Union, however, is doing as much practical work as ours, and certainly no one is disseminating historical, archæological and biographical literature in the quarters where it will be appreciated and felt to the extent that we are now doing. Our literature is not confined to our book shelves, but is going broadcast among the readers and scholars throughout the state and indeed more or less throughout the country.

The last Legislature also appropriated a certain sum to defray the cost of publication of an "Archæological History of Ohio." This had been prepared by Mr. Gerard Fowke, and was now in the hands of the printers and will appear some time in July or August. It will consist of two volumes, some 400 pages each, and be elaborately illustrated. The charge for this book will be $5.00. In this connection the Secretary stated that there was a great demand for a complete subject index of our published nine volumes. He hoped the Trustees would see their way clear to engage a competent person to prepare this index.

It is probably known to all that the Trustees of Harvard University had passed the title of Serpent Mound to our Society. A custodian, Mr. Daniel Wallace of Sinking Springs, had been selected, and was now residing at, and overseeing the Mound and Park, which are being renovated and placed in cleanly and attractive condition. Arrangements were being made to erect a tablet somewhere in the Park, which will publicly acknowledge the transfer of the property. The Society is indebted to Prof. F. W. Putnam, of Harvard University, for the successful accomplishment of this transfer.

Prof. W. C. Mills, our Curator, is not present, and will make a report later of his year's work in archæological exhumations.*

* This report of Mr. Mills follows these proceedings of the annual meeting. See page 78 seq.

He is at present in Buffalo putting in place our Society's exhibit, in the building devoted to Ethnology and Archæology. He is being assisted by Mr. A. B. Coover, one of our members. The Pan-American Exposition authorities were so solicitous for our exhibit, that Dr. A. L. Benedict, Superintendent of the Archæological and Ethnological department, came to Columbus to personally negotiate for our exhibit at the exposition. The exposition managers meet the expense to our Society for this exhibition.

The failure of the Ohio Centennial at Toledo, cut off the hope of our Society for a building in that direction. Advices were were coming in on all sides that we go before the Legislature next winter and ask for an appropriation for a building for our Society. The time seems to be ripe for this result. The Ohio State University needs a library building, and the State Library Commission, also need, and will probably ask for a building. It is wise that we "get together" and avoid such conflicting interests as would likely lead to failure by all parties.

This suggestion of the Secretary was discussed by President Brinkerhoff and others. It resulted in the appointment of E. O. Randall, Dr. W. H. Scott, Hon. C. B. Galbreath, Gen. J. Warren Keifer and Prof. G. Frederick Wright, as a Committee of five on Permanent Building. Said Committee to confer with the other parties desirous of a building and outline the proper policy for the Society to pursue before the coming legislature.

Secretary called the attention of the members to the progress of the Society in its increase of membership. At the last Annual Meeting, ten life members were elected, and since that time, up to the present date, the Executive Committee had received 35 more life members.

The Secretary reported that on March 1, 1901, Governor Nash appointed Gen. George B. Wright of Columbus and Hon. Israel Williams of Hamilton as Trustees of the Society, to serve until 1904. They succeeded themselves. The Trustees, elected by the Society, whose terms expire at this time, are Gen. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. D. Follett, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Rev. H. A. Thompson and Hon. R. E. Hills. The Chair appointed a Committee of five on nomination. This Committee reported in favor of Gen. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. D. Follett, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Rev. H. A.

Thompson and W. H. Hunter. These to serve until the Annual Meeting in 1904. (Mr. Hills declined re-election.) The nominees of the Committee were elected. Prof. J. P. MacLean, Ph. D., of Franklin, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Hon. John Sherman, whose term would have extended to the Annual Meeting in 1902.

Mr. Bareis, Chairman of the Ft. Ancient Committee, made a verbal report concerning their work during the year. The Committee or its members had made several trips to the Fort to supervise the work being done by Mr. Warren Cowen, the custodian. They had been much pleased with his services; the embankments and park enclosure were never in better condition or more attractive appearance. Thousands of persons have visited the Fort during the year. Under the instructions of the Committee Mr. Cowen was now graveling the road through the Fort; setting out an orchard; and taking special pains to beautify the Park for the coming season.

Messrs. Moorehead, White, Keifer, Anderson, Wright, Love, Reeve and others expressed their satisfaction over the work of the Society during the year just closed, and over the bright promise of its still greater progress in the future.

The Secretary thanked the trustees and members for their courtesy and assistance accorded him, and emphasized the desire that any of the members at any time make any suggestions occurring to them or confer with him concerning the work and welfare of the Society.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

At the conclusion of the meeting of the Society the Trustees held their Annual Meeting. The following were present:

Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. D. Follett, Hon. R. E. Hills, Rev. H. A. Thompson, E. O. Randall, George F. Bareis, Judge James H. Anderson, Gen. George B. Wright, Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Prof. B. F. Prince, Hon. A. R. McIntire, Rev. N. B. C. Love. Gen. G. B. Wright acted as Chairman, E. O. Randall as Secretary. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, President; Gen. G. B. Wright, 1st Vice-President; George F. Bareis, 2d Vice-President; E. [illegible].

Randall, Secretary; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Treasurer; Edwin F. Wood, Assistant Treasurer; W. C. Mills, Curator and Librarian.

The following were selected as members of the Executive Committee (in addition to the officers): J. H. Anderson, G. Fred Wright, A. R. McIntire, B. F. Prince, D. J. Ryan and H. A. Thompson. Gen. Brinkerhoff assumed the Chair and made a fitting speech on his re-election. He felt honored at being again chosen. The Society has rapidly advanced the past few years. It was now an established power in its line of work, and the State should be proud of it. He thought greater things were in store. The meeting adjourned.

In the evening, in the auditorium of the Columbus Board of Trade, Prof. G. Frederick Wright delivered a lecture to the members of the Society, and their invited guests. Probably no finer audience ever gathered upon a similar occasion in the city. The large hall was completely filled by the most cultured people of the Capital City. Prof. Wright's subject was "The Heart of Asia, Past and Present, including new geological evidences of the Flood." Prof. Wright had just returned from a year's journey in Asia and other portions of the Orient. He had much to say that was new and interesting concerning the prehistoric mounds and other archæological remains of the regions through which he traveled. His trip had attracted the attention of the leading scientists of the world. His lecture was illustrated by a large number of stereopticon views, the photos of which were taken by his party. Prof. Wright's lecture was an event quite unique in the history of the Society, and afforded an evening of great pleasure and profit to his auditors. Thus closed the sixteenth annual meeting of the Society.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY W. C. MILLS, B. SC.

[This report covers the period of the work of the Society in the Archæological Department and the Museum from January, 1900, to the last Annual meeting of the Society, held April 26, 1901.]

To the President and Trustees of the Society.

GENTLEMEN:—It gives me pleasure to make my annual report upon our archæological explorations and the condition of the museum and library of the Society.

FIELD WORK.

My own field work during the last two seasons was confined to the well known Baum Village site, which is situated in Ross county, Ohio, just across the river from the small village of Bourneville, and is located upon the first gravel terrace of the Paint Creek valley. This village site embraces a very large pyramidal mound, which was examined a number of years ago under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. A complete report of these explorations is found in the twelfth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1890-'91. At that time the village site was not explored but was known to exist, as the following extract from the twelfth annual report will show:

"This mound is situated upon the edge of the first general bottom of Paint Creek, which, though protected by huge levees, is annually inundated. In overflow time the smaller circle of the adjoining enclosure is almost entirely submerged and the summit of the mound is the only land visible above a broad expanse of water. Around the mound upon all sides, particularly to the east, are traces of former Indian occupation, numerous fragments of pottery similar in texture, fabrication and ornamental feature to those found in the mound, bestrewed the plowed ground. These were intermingled with the valves of mussel shells, pitted stones, shell disks, human bones, arrow heads, perforated stone gorgets, and a large quantity of chipped flint."

This village site was first made known by several local collectors who lived in the immediate vicinity, i. e. Mr. W. R. Keran and Mr. A. W. Stretcher. Both of these gentlemen have private collections which were secured in the immediate vicinity. In 1897 Mr. Moorehead did some work in this village and in the same year Mr. Coover, of Roxabell, also did some exploring in this place. During the summer of 1899 I carefully examined the section of the village which lies directly south of this mound; then a portion lying directly north of the mound. During this season I had five men at work. During the season of 1900 the work was carried on directly east of the mound, and here our greatest finds were made. The village site probably extends over ten or more acres of extensive bottom land, which at one time was covered with a growth of large trees of various kinds. The land is now owned by Mr. J. E. Baum, who kindly granted us the privilege of working in this village. He not only granted us the privilege, but has in very many ways aided us in the work.

About three-fourths of a century ago Mr. Baum's grandfather cleared this land and it has been practically in cultivation ever since. From twelve to thirty-six inches of leaf-mold and alluvial deposit overlie the thin stratum of hardpan; directly beneath this hardpan is found gravel. Less than two acres of this village site has been dug over inch by inch. Many objects have been discovered. Some with the skeletons, which are usually found at a depth of from two to two and one-half feet; seventy-three skeletons have thus far been discovered. These have been carefully removed and brought to the museum, to increase our valuable pathological collection. There have been found with the skeletons a number of bone implements, celts, drinking vessels, ornaments, but so far no vessels of pottery have been found in these mounds. In several instances broken pieces of a large size were found buried near the skeleton. Pipes of various shapes and celts from various kinds of stone have been found near the skeletons, associated with various implements such as knives, drills, celts, stone hammers, grooved axes, etc.

It is, however, to the singular "Ash Pits" which have been discovered in great numbers in this village, that I wish to call particular attention. These ash pits, as they have been well named, are circular excavations, from three to four feet in diameter and from four to seven feet deep. Most of these pits have a greater diameter at the bottom, though a few have been found that have the same diameter from top to bottom. The object for which they were made, I think, was for the purpose of getting rid of the refuse of the village, for here are thrown animal bones, broken pottery, perfect and broken implements, ashes from their little homes. These pits are in a number of cases in close proximity to each other. The average pit may be said to contain ashes in more or less definite layers. With these ashes near the top, bones and pottery fragments can be found. After removing the contents of the upper third of the pit a stratum of fine white ashes is found, which in some cases is only a few inches in thickness, while in others it is more than two feet, sometimes this mass of ashes will contain a thin stratum of sand or clay, and sometimes the bones of animals and turtles will be completely mixed with these ashes. Very frequently below the mass of ashes are found burnt stones, and very frequently burned bones of various animals. Through the whole mass in these ash pits, from the top to the bottom, are found bones of fishes, mammals, reptiles, and birds, and implements and ornaments of bone, stone and shell. The bones of the larger species of mammals, such as the elk, bear and deer, are usually broken into small fragments. In one pit fifty-nine carapace of the small land turtle, cestudo Virginea, were removed. A careful memoranda of all the bones taken from one pit was made. This pit measured three feet seven inches in diameter by five feet ten inches in depth and contained 375 bones. Of these bones thirty-five per cent. were of tne Virginia deer (ocloloileus Virginianus); ten per cent. were of the wild turkey (meleagris gallopayo); ten per cent. of fresh unios, two species represented (unio plicatus), and (unio alatus); five per cent. of the raccoon (procyon lotor); five per cent. of the black bear (ursus Americanus); five per cent. of the box turtle (cestudo Virginea), the remainder of the bones in this pit were

divided about equally between the groundhog, wildcat, opossum, beaver, rabbit, wild goose and great horned owl. As a rule shells of the unioniadae are found in great numbers. From one pit alone, 170 shells were taken, many of these valves have a large circular hole cut near the center. These are mostly unio placitus. These were no doubt used for hoes. In one pit fifteen of these perforated valves were taken out. Some of them were in a perfect condition, others with their edges almost worn down, to the hole and others broken, still others show that they have not been used at all. Among the animals so far found and positively identified are the Virginia deer (ocloloileus Virginianus), raccoon (procyon lotor), black bear (ursus Americanus), wolf (canis occidentalis), beaver (castor Canadensis), wild goose (branta Canadensis), wildcat (lynx ruffus), (sic.), musk rat (fiber zibethicus), mink (putiorious vison), grey fox (urocyn Virginianus), opossum (didelphys Virginianus), wild turkey (meleagris galloparo), trumpeter swan (olor buccinator), bald eagle (haliantus leucocephalus), box turtle (cestudo Virginea), elk (cervus Canadensis), great horned owl (bubo Virginianus), otter (lutra Canadensis), rabbit, barred owl, and the Indian dog. The bones of the old Indian dog were found in great numbers, and there is no doubt but that this dog was one of their domestic animals, for it is known that dogs were domesticated long before the earliest records of history, their remains being found in connection with the rude implements of the ancient cave and lake dwellers all through Europe. However, the history and description of the Indian dog, in the ancient times, is yet a subject far from solution. The remains of the dog found in this village site are described by Professor Lucas, of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, as being a short faced dog, much of the size and proportions of a bull terrier, though probably not short haired. Professor Lucas says he has obtained specimens apparently of the same breed from the village sites in Texas and from old Pueblos. Professor Putnam, of Harvard University, for more than twenty years has been collecting bones of dogs in connection with pre-historic burials in various parts of America, and a study of the skulls of these

dogs found in the mounds and burial places in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Ohio, Kentucky and New York, and from the great shell heaps of Maine, show that a distinct variety or species of dog was distributed over North America in pre-Columbian times. Apparently the same variety of dog is found in the ancient site of the Swiss Lake dwellers at Neufchatel, also in the ancient tombs of Thebes in Egypt. Professor Putnam further says: "This variety of dog is apparently identical with the pure bred Scotch Collie of to-day. If this is the case the pre-historic dog in America, Europe and Egypt and its persistence to the present time as a thoroughbred is suggestive of a distinct species of the genus canis, which was domesticated several thousand years ago, and also that the pre-historic dog in America was brought to this continent by very early emigrants from the old world."

He further states: "That comparisons have not been made with dogs that have been found in the tribes of the Southwest, the ancient Mexicans, and with the Eskimo."

According to Professor Lucas' observations the dog found in the Baum village site would differ somewhat from the dog found in other parts of Ohio, and would resemble those found in the Southwest.

In the pits are also found many, and often very large pieces of pottery, but so far not a single whole vessel has been found, although in several instances pieces of pottery from the same pit were carefully boxed and brought to the museum and in a few instances I have been able to place the pieces together so as to fully restore the vessel. However, a few small cups made of the pottery clay, apparently moulded in the hand, have been found. These are in a perfect state. In several instances large lumps of clay bearing marks of the basket in which they were carried to the village were found. These have been carefully brought to the museum and are now placed on exhibition.

A large number of implements made of bones and of deer and elk antlers have been found. Those made from the elk antlers were no doubt used for digging and for agricultural purposes. Some of these are quite large, being three inches broad and ten inches long, and having a sharp cutting edge resembling

very much the stone celt which is found in the same village. Another form of implement made from the antlers is the arrow point. These are made by drilling a hole for the entrance of the shaft and for attachment, the other end being worked to a sharp point. Some of the larger ones had an extra hole drilled in the side; these were no doubt used for harpoons in catching the large freshwater drum, and other fishes whose bones are found in the ash pits. Another form of implement which was found in great numbers in this village, is the scraper, made from the leg bone of the deer and elk. These singular, longitudinally grooved bones, have very sharp edges, beveled on the inside, and were no doubt used in preparing the skins of animals for use in making clothing, etc. By constant use these bones became worn down and would break in the center at the thinnest point. The broken halves of these implements have been found in great numbers. In one ash pit twenty-seven of these broken scrapers were removed. We also found a number of the bones showing the stages of manufacture through which the implement passed before it became fit for use as a scraper. The most common bone implement found in this village is the awl. These are of all sizes, ranging in length from two to nine inches. A number of the largest and most elegantly made awls were manufactured from the bones of the deer and elk. The largest were usually ornamented and had but one point, while some of the smaller awls were double pointed. These awls may have been used for various purposes. One of the most common bone awls is the one made from the tarso-metatarsus of the wild turkey. During the summer more than 200 of the perfect specimens were taken from these ash pits. Some of these awls are decorated with notches, others with incised lines, and all are highly polished. Another favorite bone used for making these awls was the fibula of the raccoon. A great many awls were also made from the shoulder blade of the deer and elk, but very few of the awls of any kind had perforations for attachment. The bone needles found in this village site are usually about six inches in length. They are made from the rib bones of various animals, usually the deer and elk, as a number of ribs from these animals showing the various stages of manu-

facture of the needle, have been found. This needle is perforated at one end. Among the other objects made of bone is the bead. These are made from the hollow bones of birds, especially the wing bones of the great horned owl and wild turkey. Some of the beads are made of cylindrical bones and these are usually marked with notches and with incised lines. Great numbers of beads were found upon the skeletons of children, varying in ages from two to ten years. Some of the pits would contain from fifty to one hundred of these beads. The fish hooks found in this village are of great interest, for a full description of the fish hook I refer you to volume 9, page 520, of the Society's publications.

Arrow and spear points, some five inches in length, drills, scrapers, and other chipped implements of stone are very common, and are usually made of flint obtained from the flint quarries at Flint Ridge, Licking county, Ohio, although a few specimens of the Kentucky flint have been taken from the pits, yet we could practically say that all the flint used in this village was obtained from the Ohio quarries. The most abundant kind of arrow point is the small triangular point not over one and one-half inches in length. These were most abundant in the pits. Two varieties of grooved axes were found. The greatest number found were of the variety having the groove entirely around the pole, the other kind is known as the ax, grooved on both faces with the back hollowed and usually in a straight line. The celts were more abundant than the grooved axes, and a great many very beautifully formed and polished ones were found. The hammer stones were found in great numbers. The largest number taken from one pit was fifteen, some of these hammer stones were pitted, while others were perfectly round. A number of very large stone mortars were procured. One of these taken from an ash pit is quite large, the bowl being eight inches in diameter. I wish to call your attention to the discovery of a large amount of corn and nuts that were found in these pits. Some of this corn was still attached to the cob, but in no instance did we find any great quantity of it in one place. In one pit about a peck of corn was found, which had evidently been covered by a woven fabric, as small particles of this fabric were

intermingled with the corn. I submitted the grains and seeds to Prof. J. H. Schaffner, of the Ohio State University, Department of Botany, for identification. The following is the list:

Corn, Zea mays L.

Great quantities of the eight-rowed variety were found. The cobs were usually about one-half inch in diameter. Another variety was also discovered which had ten rows and a very much thicker cob. The grains and cobs were in a good state of preservation, having been charred. In several instances grain and seeds were found in large pieces of broken pottery and were well preserved. Finding the corn in so many of the pits shows that it largely produced the food of the camp.

Quantities of charred papaw seeds (asimina triloba L) Dunal, and the wild hazelnut (corylus Americana) Walt, were secured from a number of pits, showing that these were largely used for food.

Quite a quantity of the seeds of the wild red plum (prunis Americana) Marsh, were also taken from the pits. These were in a number of cases, associated with papaw seeds and the shells of the chestnut (castanea dentata) Marsh, Borkh.

Great quantites of the shells of the butternuts (juglans cinerea) L., and the black walnut (juglans nigra) L., were discovered. These were usually found associated together, but in several instances they were found separated, the butternuts being more abundant than the walnuts.

Three species of hickory nut were procured, but none of these were in such quantities as the butternuts and black walnuts. The three species found were as follows: Hicora minima (Marsh), Britt., hicora ovata (Mill.), Britt., hicora laciniosa (Mx.), Britt.

Several specimens of beans, phaseolus (sp.), and also a specimen of the grape, vitis (sp.), were found in the material, but it was not possible to tell whether the beans were one of our wild species or cultivated.

The list of objects taken from these pits, which is far from being complete, is sufficient to show that anything used by the people who lived in this village is liable to be discovered in the

pits during future explorations. We hope to continue the work until the village is thoroughly examined.

At the bottom of three of the pits and under the usual mass of animal remains, broken pottery, shells and the usual mass of ashes, were found perfect human skeletons. But these pits containing the human skeletons were not as deep on the average as those containing nothing but the refuse. Yet in some of the very deep pits the skeletons of very young infants have been found. The pits revealed, in all, seventeen of these very small baby skeletons, and in every case these were perfectly preserved when imbedded in the ashes. A few were found that were buried in the soil outside of the pits, but these were so much decayed that not a single bone could be saved, while near by would be the skeleton of an adult perfectly preserved. The thousands of specimens procured by the field work have not as yet been placed on display, on account of the crowded condition of the museum.

THE MUSEUM.

During the past year much has been done in the internal work of the museum. Room number 7, which is adjacent to the main gallery of the museum, was set aside by the trustees of the university for our use and this room has been devoted to the display of historical relics, photographs, drawings, paintings, etc., and many of the historical specimens that we exhibited in the library and office have been removed to this room.

The number of visitors to the museum is steadily increasing as its character is becoming better known. Hardly a day passes that I am not called upon to answer questions of visitors from various parts of the State. Many schools and classes, and especially those of Columbus, also visit the museum, and when previously notified of such visits, I have endeavored to make them profitable to scholars. Also various organizations that have met in the Capital City have visited the museum in a body, and in a number of instances I have called upon students, who have aided me in the field, to act as ushers and they have gladly assisted me in the work of conducting parties through the museum.

We contemplate the purchase of new cases for the west side of the museum, and hope to have every available space occupied by new cases to accommodate as much of the material as is possible. The museum work is naturally very slow and exceedingly tedious. Every specimen is carefully examined and studied and only the very best material can be placed on exhibition on account of our cramped condition.

It is my intention during the coming year to make a new catalogue of the entire collection and this, as you are well aware, will require a great deal of careful work.

LECTURES ON ANTHROPOLOGY.

The great interest in Ohio archæology manifested by the students of our university induced me to offer, the past winter, a free course of "Lecture Studies" in anthropology, and more than one hundred students of the university and teachers in the high schools of the city have availed themselves of this opportunity. The subjects discussed in this course of twelve lectures were:

1. Fire; Discovery and making of fire; Condition of man without fire.
2. Uses of fire, heat, canoe-making, cooking, etc. Influence of fire socially. The hearth locates the home.
3. Food; How obtained and eaten; Examples of people who eat raw food; Storing of food, cooking and preserving.
4. Cannibalism; Cause of; Cannibals surpass their neighbors in civilization.
5. Agriculture; Its beginning and influence.
6. Domestication; Origin and influence upon mankind.
7. The Stone Age. The meaning of the term. Divisions in Ohio.
8. Modes of making the stone tools. Influence of stone working upon society.
9. Use of metals. Its beginning as shown in America, mines, etc. Bronze Age; Where did it prevail? The Iron age in Africa.

10. Dress and adornment. Origin of dress. Origin of ornament.
11. Mounds and their builders. Description of all the great mounds in Ohio.
12. Village Sites; Refuse Heaps, and Ash Pits.

This course of lectures and the personal attention given to visitors has naturally taken much of my time. I cannot but believe that they are such as you would wish to have continued with such limits as will prevent neglect to the duties of the Museum and arrangement and care of the collection. In the last named duties I have been ably assisted by Miss Lane and Miss Coutellier. While in my office much of the time has to be spent in routine work, in correspondence and in making out descriptive labels, and in giving my attention to so many minor details that I find it impossible to mention everything in this connection.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

As is well known to you the explorations which have been successfully prosecuted by the Society have naturally caused a large increase in the number of specimens received at the Museum during the past year, to which are to be added a great number of donations which come from various parts of the State and from people who are interested in the building up of our Museum.

To Mr. Wilbur Stout whose home is in Sciotoville, Scioto County, Ohio, but who is now a student at the Ohio State University, we are indebted for a valuable series of objects, obtained from near his home in Sciotoville. Among the most interesting of these objects are large hoes, made from a ferruginous sandstone which is obtained in the neighborhood. Mr. Stout says that these hoes are found in great numbers in his vicinity. The splendid collection he has so kindly donated makes a very valuable addition.

From Mr. C. R. Wilson, Circleville, Ohio, we have received a collection of implements such as celts, arrow and spear points, etc., which were obtained from the site of an old Indian village near that city.

Mr. A. B. Coover of Roxabell, Ohio, a life member of the Society, has continued to send to the Museum from time to time,

such specimens as he could secure in the vicinity of his home. He also obtained a very interesting skeleton near the western border of the county, which was removed by himself and at his own expense. The skeleton was covered with red ochre. With the skeleton was found a fine grooved ax. Mr. Coover also collected several fine pipes from the vicinity of Frankfort. Mr. Coover has shown a continual interest in the Museum and a desire to do all in his power in furtherance of its objects and purposes. I must further say that all his labors have been gratuitous.

Mr. James Scott of Portsmouth, Ohio, presented a Spanish coin which was found along the Little Scioto at Wheelers Mill, near Sciotoville.

Hon. N. W. Swayne, of Toledo, a prominent attorney of that place, and a life member of the Society, presented a unique pipe which was found in Central Michigan. Pipes and other implements and ornaments of this character have brought forth a flood of discussion, as a few years ago according to Prof. Kelsey, a number of specimens which he had obtained from Wyman, Michigan, were pronounced frauds. Yet I am inclined to think that the pipe procured by Mr. Swayne is not one of the modern manufacture.

To Mr. Almer Hegler of Washington C. H., we are indebted for a number of specimens procured from a gravel bank not far from his country residence, which is about eight miles from Washington C. H. The skeletons removed by Mr. Hegler were covered with a red paint, similar to those found by Mr. Coover. With the skeletons were found two large grooved axes made of diorite. These were also coated with this red paint, also two large tubes made from fire clay, one of which in a perfect state is five and one-half inches in length, one and one-fourth inches in diameter at the larger end, and three-fourths of an inch at the smaller end, with a hole having a diameter of one inch tapering at the small end to one-fourth of an inch in diameter. The other one which is somewhat larger was broken when it was removed from the grave. A number of arrow and spear points were also taken out, all in a perfect state. All implements taken from this gravel bank are coated with this red paint.

Among other gifts I take pleasure in mentioning those by

Mr. W. D. Beaumont of Alexandria, Licking County, Ohio, who sends several specimens from the Rowe Farm which is about one-half mile from Alexandria. A few years ago Mr. Beaumont lost his collection by fire. This was one of the largest collections in Licking County, and had been preserved with great care, the locality of all the finds being accurately noted. This collection was on exhibition in the window of one of the business houses of Alexandria, when the building took fire and the collection mainly burned. Mr. Beaumont gathered up the few remnants and sent them to our Museum for safekeeping. Since that time he has been adding to the collection, which has now grown to several hundred specimens.

Mr. E. F. Preston of Alexandria, presented a number of specimens taken from the Colville mound, located on the outskirts of the village. From this mound was taken a number of very fine specimens of slate ornaments, celts, arrow and spear points.

From Mr. Jacob L. Bowsher, Adelphi, Ross County, Ohio, we received a collection of fifteen skeletons, taken from a gravel bank, which is located near his home, and from which he was removing gravel. Mr. Bowsher obtained a number of very fine specimens from these burials. I was notified of the finds, and visited the gravel bank and with the aid of Mr. Bowsher and his two sons removed several skeletons. With one of the skeletons a very fine awl made from the metacarpal bone of the deer, was found. Mr. Bowsher also found some very interesting specimens of pottery resembling those taken from the Baum village, near Bourneville, Ross County, Ohio.

Prof. Samuel W. Collett, who has a very interesting and valuable collection from Indiana, also a number of very fine specimens taken from Sioux Indian graves in Dakota, has deposited his collection for safekeeping in the Museum. The specimens taken from the Sioux graves were procured near Chamberland, South Dakota, and were taken from an old Sioux Indian burying ground, and consist of a number of bracelets, made of heavy copper wire one-eighth of an inch in diameter, also a number of bracelets varying in width from one-half to one inch, and ornamented with incised lines and scrolls. Some are made of copper

and some are made of silver. A large number of copper and silver disks two and one-fourth inches in diameter were found. Great quantities of beads made of bones, shell, glass and copper; the old hunting knife; the flint and steel which was used in making fire in those early days; these are all in a good state of preservation, and the collection is very valuable and complete.

To Mr. Joseph Balo, Virginia Township, Coshocton Co., Ohio, we are indebted for a very large stone pestle, 15 inches in length, and made from variegated slate. This is the largest specimen made from that material that we have in the Museum.

From Mrs. Honor Runyon, 88 West Woodruff Ave., Columbus, we have received on deposit a very old copper teapot, brought to Ohio in 1806, from Trenton, New Jersey, by Mr. Jonathan Hunt of Mt. Vernon, Ohio.

We have received from Mr. Day of Xenia, Ohio, a number of very good skeletons. They were procured from a mound near the city of Xenia. They are quite an addition to our large collection of skeletons.

To Mr. J. M. Swank, General Manager of the American Iron and Steel Association, we are indebted for a fine collection of knives made from the first steel ever manufactured in the United States, and this comes from Cincinnati, Ohio. A full and interesting history of these knives will be found in chapter XLIV of Mr. Swank's history of the "Manufacture of Iron in all Ages."

To Mr. F. M. Benner, Lisbon, Ohio, we are indebted for the lower mandible of the fossil Peccary, and the metacarpal bone of the deer. These were found in connection with a large mastodon that was discovered while making excavations for the erection of a bridge. These specimens are interesting in two ways, first that they were found associated with the bones of the mastodon, and second that the fossil Peccary is the second found and recorded in the State, the first having been found near Chillicothe.

From Mr. B. F. Smith of Stewart, Ohio, was received samples of some noted wood from every state in the union. From these pieces he made the gavel used at the Republican National Convention, at Philadelphia, June 19th, 1900.

We are greatly indebted to Hon. Emil Schlup of Lowell, Wyandot Co., Ohio, for a section of a log taken from the cabin of Chief Crane, the chief Indian of the Wyandot tribe. He was born in 1742, near Detroit, and died in 1818 near Cranetown, Crane Township, Wyandot Co., Ohio. He was Grand Sachem of his tribe and the most influential in securing the ratification of the Greeneville treaty which he ever after observed.

From Hon. Eugene Lane, Columbus, Ohio, we have received a very large collection of shells, fossils, and various historical relics. The shells were mostly collected along the Pacific seaboard, the historical relics were collected from all over the United States. These will soon be arranged in cases.

LIBRARY.

During the year many books and pamphlets have been received, both in exchange and as donations. The number of bound volumes received was 1,202, the number of pamphlets received 1500, atlasses 3, maps 3. Of these 588 bound volumes were gifts, 614 were received in exchange. The Societies and Institutions contributing were 126 in number, individuals 42.

I have been ably assisted in the work of the library by Miss Pearl Coutellier, who has been looking after the accessions. One can see an appreciable increase in the volumes, during the year, when it is taken into consideration that not a single cent has been used in the purchase of volumes and all have either been donated us or received in exchange.

The Society is indebted to Baker's Art Gallery, Columbus, Ohio, for the following large photographs, size 22 by 28 inches: President William McKinley; Hon. Allen G. Thurman (life member and first President of the Society); Hon. John Sherman (life member and Trustee); Hon. Joseph B. Foraker (life member); President R. B. Hayes (life member and President); Rev. Dr. William E. Moore (life member, Trustee and Vice-President); Ex-senator Calvin S. Brice (life member and trustee); Ex-governor Charles Foster (life member); Ex-governor George Hoadley; Ex-governor James E. Campbell; Ex-governor Asa S. Bushnell (life member); Dr. Edward Orton (life member); Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden (honorary and life member); Dr.

Thomas Mendenhall; Dr. James H. Canfield; Gov. George K. Nash (life member); Gen. R. Brinkerhoff (life member and President); E. O. Randall (life member, Trustee and Secretary). These are all hung on the east wall of the library.

Prof. J. A. Bownocker, Ph. D., has presented the Society with a plaster bust of Dr. Edward Orton.

During the year more than 200 students of the University have availed themselves of the use of this library.

The heirs of the late Mrs. A. A. Graham, have deposited with the Society their library, which is composed of 91 volumes. A list of these volumes has been made but not accessioned.

The following is a list of the persons who have made donations to the library, since my last report, with the number of volumes each gave:

	BOUND VOLUMES
Fred. J. Heer	38
Thos. W. Kinney	1
Prof. Herbert Osborn	3
W. C. Mills	50
Prof. Stephen D. Peet	1
Prof. John B. Peaslee	1
Bishop B. W. Arnett	4
Chas. Geo. Carnegys	1
Isreal Williams	1
Clarence B. Moore	7
R. A. Smith	1
E. O. Randall	60
Chas. Wm. Burkett	1
E. F. Wood	11
Col. Wm. A. Taylor	1
Clark Bell	10
Gen. Henry A. Axline, Adj. Gen. of State	23
Hon. Chas. Kinney, Secretary of State	8
Hon. W. W. Miller, Secretary State Board of Agriculture	26
Hon. W. S. Matthews, Insurance Commissioner	15
Hon. Frank S. Monnett, Attorney-General of Ohio	9
Hon. W. D. Guilbert, Auditor of State	20
Prof. C. O. Probst, Secretary State Board of Health	12
Gen. Geo. B. Wright	50
J. W. Tweed	15
Prof. Lewis D. Bonebrake, Commissioner of Common Schools	15
Gen. Roeliff Brinkerhoff	4

	BOUND VOLUMES
Gen. J. Warren Keifer	2
Prof. Warren K. Moorehead	1
Samuel Calvin	3
James M. Swank	2
Miss Harriet Townsend	16
Prof. J. A. Bownocker	1
Gerard Fowke	9
Pres. W. O. Thompson	1
Hon. J. W. Knaub, Commissioner of Labor	11
B. B. Herrick	20
D. W. Williams	1
Marshall Field	2
Hon. J. J. Lentz, through the U. S. War Department	129

EXCHANGES.

The following is a list of the Publications and Institutions with which we interchange, showing the number of volumes and pamphlets we now have on hand.

	BOUND VOLUMES	PAMPHLETS
American Museum of Natural History	10	13
American Historical Association	11	....
American Academy of Political and Social Science	10	14
American Philosophical Society	7	6
Academy of History and Antiquity	3	2
American Catholic Historical Society	6	3
American Antiquarian Society	21	4
American Numismatic and Archæological Society	1	2
American Antiquarian	15	17
American Geographical Society	13	2
American Iron and Steel Association	7	1
American Catholic Historical Researches	8	8
Bussy Institute	1	4
Buchtel College	....	2
Boston Public Library	9	6
Buffalo Historical Society	....	1
Buffalo Society of Natural Science	5	....
Bowdoin Public Library	5	32
Berea College Library	1	16
Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society	....	9
Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences	1	2
Bureau of Ethnology	19	....
Cincinnati Society of Natural History	15	19

	BOUND VOLUMES	PAMPHLETS
Canadian Institute	1	4
Chicago Historical Society	4	7
Congress International d' Anthropologie et d' Archæologie Prehistoriques	1	....
Colorado College Scientific Society	1	....
Columbia University	6	1
Case Memorial Library	....	5
Connecticut Historical Society	....	1
Colorado Scientific Society	4	17
California Historical Society	....	1
Chautauquan	....	14
Cornell University	3	11
Dedham Historical Society	7	7
Davenport Academy of Natural Science	6	1
Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society	1	12
Enoch Pratt Free Library	....	28
Elgin Historical and Scientific Association	1	....
Franklin Institute	....	16
Field Columbian Museum	1	27
Firelands Historical Society	....	33
Fairfield County Historical Society	1	....
Geneological and Biographical Society	....	7
Geographical Club of Philadelphia	1	2
Geographical Society of the Pacific	....	1
Hampton Institute Library	1	11
Harvard University Library	2	12
Harvard University Observatory	....	2
Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio	....	14
Iowa State Historical Society	6	6
Iowa Agricultural Society	7	2
Iowa Masonic Library	....	5
Iowa Academy of Science	7	....
Iowa State Historical Department	7	1
Illinois State Historical Library	3	3
Indian Rights Association	4	3
Johns Hopkins University	5	5
Kansas State Historical Society	4	2
Kansas Academy of Science	9	3
Library Company of Philadelphia	....	2
Long Island Historical Society	....	1
Library of Congress	4	30
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	4	5
Missouri Historical Society	1	12

	BOUND VOLUMES	PAMPHLETS
Maine Geneological Society	2	1
Massachusetts Historical Society	12	3
Missouri Botanical Garden	11	....
Medico-Legal Journal	....	1
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society	7	....
Miami University	1	....
Massachusetts Society Sons of American Revolution	1	....
Minnesota Historical Library	1	....
Montana State Historical Society	2	24
McLean County Historical Society	2	3
New York State Library	....	1
New England Free Trade League	....	30
New York Public Library	3	12
New Haven Colony Historical Society	5	1
Northern Indiana Historical Society	....	3
New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools	2	....
Nebraska Historical Society	2	2
New England Society City of Brooklyn	....	1
New Hampshire Historical Society	2	1
Newberry Library	....	2
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society	3	2
National Civil Service Reform League	1	54
National League for the Protection of the Family	....	12
New York Historical Society	4	....
New London County Historical Society	1	....
New Jersey Historical Society	22	....
Nantucket Historical Association	....	10
Ontario Historical Society	3	4
Oneida Historical Society	....	4
Oberlin College Library	....	20
Old North-West Genealogical Society	1	5
Ohio Agricultural and Experiment Station	....	17
Peabody Museum	....	4
Pennsylvania Historical Society	6	2
Pratt Institute	4	12
Rhode Island Historical Society	12	1
Rochester Historical Society	....	1
Rochester Academy of Science	2	3
Redwood Library and Athenaeum	....	5
Smithsonian Institute	26	....
Sound Currency	....	10
Staten Island Natural Science Association	....	9

	BOUND VOLUMES	PAMPHLETS
State Charities Association of New York	2	....
Southern Historical Society	9	....
Southern California Historical Society	4	1
Scotch-Irish Society of America	9	....
Society of the History of the Germans in Maryland	1	....
Texas Historical Association	3	5
Trinity College Historical Society	....	3
University of California Library	3	46
University of Toronto Library	2	1
University of Pennsylvania, Department of History	10	9
University of Pennsylvania, Department of Archæology and Palæontology	16	10
University of Michigan Library	3	4
University of Chicago Press	....	4
University of Toulouse	....	6
United States Geological Survey	31	....
Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society	....	2
Virginia Historical Society	6	5
Wisconsin State Historical Society	11	2
Western Reserve Historical Society	8	15
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society	2	....
Western Reserve University	....	5
Washington State Historical Society	....	4
Wagner Free Institute	2	1
Washington and Lee University	....	2
West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society	....	3
Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters	9	2
Yale University Library	5	6
Yearly Meeting of Friends	....	4

In conclusion I wish to express my appreciation of the encouragement and support I have received from the officers and members of the Society.

June 1, 1901.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. X. No. 1. E. O. Randall JULY, 1901.

"LAND BILL" ALLEN.

We have been asked for the "facts" concerning "Land Bill" Allen. The facts are sparse and soon stated. The fiction is ample and almost unprecedented. The myths and popularly accepted beliefs concerning Allen's career were sufficient to place him in the distinguished category of Homer, William Tell and the "Man in the Iron Mask." The curious individual known as "Land Bill" Allen was George Wheaton Allen. He was born in Windham, Conn., May 17, 1809, and died at Columbus, Ohio, November 29, 1891, in his eighty-third year. He was, for a generation or more previous to his death, almost universally believed to have been the originator of the idea, the author of and the chief promotor of the Homestead law finally passed by Congress, May 20, 1862, and securing to certain qualified citizens the right to enter upon 160 acres of unappropriated lands at $1.25 an acre and after five years' actual residence to own it. Hence his sobriquet "Land Bill." Many supposed he was in Congress and introduced the act. Many confounded him with congressman, Senator (1837) and Governor (1873) William Allen of Ohio, who was widely called "Old Bill" Allen, "Rise Up William" Allen and "Fog Horn" Allen.

"LAND BILL" ALLEN.

George Wheaton Allen was never in congress, the legislature or any public office great or small. He never had anything to do, in the remotest degree, with the Homestead Act, any of its attempted precursors or subsequent amendments. That he was credited with being its father is one of those historical phenomena that proves the fruitfulness of fiction and the unreliability of popular rumor. He who skeptically said "Teach me anything but history for that is always false," must have had in mind some such incident as "Land Bill" Allen. His early youth was spent in New England, in Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York. His father was a tailor, industrious, thrifty and well to do. George had the benefit of a fair education and served as apprentice in his father's business and later as apprentice in the printer's trade. He came to Ohio in 1829 and first settled in Worthington, north of Columbus.

A year or two later he moved to the capital city (Columbus) and started a notion store in connection with which he became a peddler and auctioneer, claiming to be the pioneer in Ohio of that calling. It was probably about this time (1833) while engaged as a peripatetic peddler that he became interested in the land bill question. On his handsomely appointed peddler's wagon in conspicuous letters was painted, "Land Bill Allen," and "A home for all." With this vehicle drawn by two horses he drove throughout the country into the southern and western states, crying and selling his wares, and with the tail end of his wagon for a "stump" proclaiming and advocating the land bill scheme. In his latter years he claimed, and it was believed by all and probably at last by himself, that he had expended some $60,000 in arousing sentiment for and in trying to get the Homestead Bill passed; that from a comparatively rich man he became a financial wreck in behalf of his fellow men. He never had any property of value, as far as can now be learned, but true it is that his possessions were finally reduced to a little cabin in Plain township (Franklin county, near New Albany) in which he lived (from before the war, '61–5) until 1891, when his home was sold for taxes at Sheriff's sale. The unfortunate man became a wanderer, dependent upon the generosity of friends. Efforts were made by benevolent people in various parts of the country for his relief. Offers of aid came from Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, even Oklahoma Territory and the Pacific coast, and the New England States. In some instances he was tendered admission to charitable homes. These he declined. The remittances were small and of slight avail and he was finally compelled, a few months before his death, to seek shelter in the Franklin county infirmary, where he died on the date above given.

His death was conspicuously and pathetically noticed by leading papers throughout the land. He was heralded as a hero martyr to the cause of humanity — "a public benefactor to whom this country owed a vast debt of gratitude, which, alas, was never paid; one who had contributed loyally to the betterment of mankind and helped thousands to secure property and prosperous homes," etc., etc. His death elicited sympathetic messages from far and near, especially from workingmen, western settlers and labor societies. The representatives of organized labor in Columbus with laudable intent met and arranged for the funeral. They purchased a lot in Green Lawn Cemetery for his interment, and on the day of his funeral (December 2) the remains, in a casket of black cloth and silver mountings lay in state from 10 a. m. until 1:30 p. m. in the rotunda of the capitol building. This honor awarded the memory of the deceased is one rarely bestowed; for a generation but three other instances are recorded; that of President Lincoln, of Thomas Jones, the sculptor, and of J. A. MacGahan, the war correspondent. The casket of the deceased was covered with floral tributes. On the top rested a sheaf of wheat and a pillow of roses and chrysanthemums with the words in purple immortelles, "Home, Sweet Home." Hundreds passed through

the rotunda to view the remains. The funeral services were held in the First Congregational Church, where before a large and interested audience Rev. Washington Gladden delivered an address in which he paid truthful but kindly tribute to the deceased. In that discourse the public were disabused of the prevalent credence concerning "Land Bill" Allen. It is to the statements then made by Dr. Gladden and a subsequent article by him in "The Century," as well as to Mr. Henry C. Filler, formerly Superintendent Franklin County Infirmary, that we are mainly indebted for the sources of this article.

The truth concerning George W. Allen was a revelation to the general public, and particularly to the community in which he had lived and was personally known. That he was entitled to the claims he made for himself concerning the land bill, was absurd, as any investigation might have easily established. The idea of the homestead act originated about the time of Allen's birth. Many schemes were bruited abroad, and indeed proposed in congress, from 1814 to 1828 and then on, involving the granting under various conditions of portions of land for cheap or free settlement. Petitions from various sections of the country were from time to time sent to Congress in advocacy of a homestead law. In 1814 the representative of Franklin county in Congress was Reverend and Colonel (he was both) James Kilbourne of Worthington. A sketch of this Congressman Kilbourne in Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography says: "The proposition to grant lands in the northwest territory to actual settlers, originated with him and as chairman of the select committee he drew up the bill for that purpose." This was the first Homestead Act introduced in Congress. It was nearly fifty years before any such act became a law, but Colonel Kilbourne seems to have been the first to have presented the plan to the National Government.

The granting of free homes from and on the public domain became a national question in 1852, when the Free Soil Democracy in their national convention inserted in their platform, the demand "that public lands shall be granted free of cost to landless settlers," Galusha A. Grow (Penn.) became the special champion of the measure in Congress.

When George W. Allen came to Ohio, as already noted, about 1830, he settled in Worthington. Colonel Kilbourne was then in the Ohio Legislature and it is surmised that Allen got his homestead idea from Colonel Kilbourne, and adopted it as his own, at least that he thought and talked it until he regarded and believed it his own, as one writer says: "He assimilated the homestead idea until it was flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, and it became very soon the one thing for which he lived and moved and had his being." He not only preached it on his peddling trips, but he wrote letters to prominent personages, to Webster, Clay and Calhoun. He printed tracts and pamphlets and distributed them right and left.

He became sincerely and strenuously imbued with the belief that he was the "original simon pure" Homestead author and promotor. He was

self-deluded. It became his monomania. He was more Simplician than Charlatan, though a curious mixture of both.

The Ohio legislature in 1850 enacted the Homestead Exemption Law—granting homestead of certain value or a certain amount of property exempt from the reach of creditors. Allen it was claimed was instrumental in securing the passage of this law, but that is only another of the Allen myths. There is no evidence that he had anything to do with it. Indeed he is not the sort of a character to have accomplished the things attributed to him. He lived an aimless and largely useless life, eking out a mere subsistence and displaying abilities and ambitions far too mediocre to be influential. His auction rooms in Columbus, which were located on High street, near Town, were the reputed scenes of "a good deal of buffoonery, for our hero was not a dignified personage. In fact he was the butt of the wits and practical jokers of the town. His auctions were often very farcical performances, for articles would be run up by the eager bidders to the most astounding price, but the man who made the last bid could never be identified. But the auctioneer was always good-natured. He never lost his temper. He joined in the laugh which was raised at his expense and went on with the sale as best he could. Many stories are told illustrating his simplicity, his lack of ordinary shrewdness, the easiness with which he could be imposed upon, and the uniform belief is, that nothing could provoke him to resentment or malice, that his heart was full of kindness and his speech always friendly and gracious."

Such was "Land Bill' Allen. He died friendless and alone, the ward of his county. At his death no relatives near or remote could be found. His wife had died many years before at New Albany, Franklin county. He doubtless innocently enjoyed the attainment and contemplation of his pseudo fame. Many men have had credit for more and deserved less.

THE NORTHWEST UNDER THREE FLAGS.

Mr. George Moore, of Washington, D. C., is the author of an historical work, recently published by Harper Brothers, entitled "The Northwest under three flags" (1635-1798.) It is a most admirable, accurate and complete resume of the history of the occupation and development of the great Ohio Valley from the earliest French settlements to the establishment of the Northwest Territory, under the famous ordinance of 1787. Mr. Moore recounts a delightful and thrilling story of the conflicts between the aboriginal inhabitants and the Latin race (French) usurpers; then between the French and English and finally between the two divisions of the Anglo-Saxon race, the English and the Americans. We know of no one book that covers the movements of these important events so compactly and clearly as does the volume of Mr. Moore. He is a close and careful student. He has examined in great measure

the original documents, and sources of information as well as consulted the leading authors upon the periods of which he treats. So much does this work contain that is pertinent to Ohio that we give space to a brief digest of his chapters, frequently quoting his language.

UNDER THE FRENCH FLAG.

Mr. Moore begins with the entrance of the "Unknown waters of the broad St. Lawrence," by Jacques Cartier in 1534, under the patronage of Francis I, who "viewed with alarm" as the politicians say, the discoveries the English and Spanish were making in the new world. Subsequent French voyages and discoveries are passed over till that of Samuel Champlain (1603) "the Father of New France" who was the first white man to look off across the waters of Lake Huron. He planted the colony of Quebec (1608), discovered Lake Champlain, and in 1620 was appointed by the King (Louis XIII) Governor of Canada. Then follow rapidly the western water discoveries (1618-42) and navigations of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior by Champlain's associates or successors, as Brule, Nicolet and Joliet. These were the early days of the Jesuit Missions and the straggling and struggling settlements of New France along the great water ways from the St. Lawrence to the straits of Mackinac and beyond. The Indian contested the encroachment of the French, but the intrepid fur trader and the zealous missionary were not to be dislodged, though the war of the savage and the civilized races was to continue for a century and a half. "In the year 1643 the entire population of New France numbered not to exceed three hundred souls, whereas the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven banded together could count a population of 24,000." But the adventurous French merchant, like Radisson and dauntless missionary like Marquette, pushed on West while the New England colonies were growing apace on the Atlantic coast and the English peltry purchasers were getting their hold on the region of Hudson's Bay. The Hudson Bay Company took corporate form about 1670 under Charles II, whose cousin Prince Rupert and associates instituted the monopoly. New France therefore occupied the St. Lawrence and great Lakes territory. But farther west the pious priest and peltry trader ventured; across lakes and by portage to the head waters of the Wisconsin river, down which they floated "till caught and whirled along by the on-rushing Mississippi, then accomplishing a discovery that in the words of Bancroft 'changed the destinies of the nations.'" The Mississippi discovery was by Louis Joliet in 1673; De Soto, the Spanish adventurer, had penetrated the southern interior from Florida, and discovered the mouth of the Mississippi in 1541. Louis Frontenac was appointed governor general of Canada in 1678. In 1679 La Salle, in the *Griffin*, sailed the waters of Lake Erie, bearing "the royal commission to establish a line of forts along the great lakes whereby to hold for France

all that rich far country." He looked forward to a chain of forts and trading posts stretching from Quebec along the Great Lakes and thence down the Mississippi to its mouth. In pursuance of this ambitious aim La Salle passed through Lake Huron and Michigan, descended the Illinois river and the Mississippi to its mouth, which he reached in 1681; naming the valley of this river Louisiana, and claiming it for his sovereign, Louis XIV.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the founding of the settlement and fort on the Detroit river by Cadillac in 1701. This was regarded by the King of France and governor-general of Canada, as the strategic point of the west. It commanded the water traffic between the lakes, and was the best point defensive and offensive for war operations with or against the Indians. For more than a century Detroit was the historic storm center of the northwest.

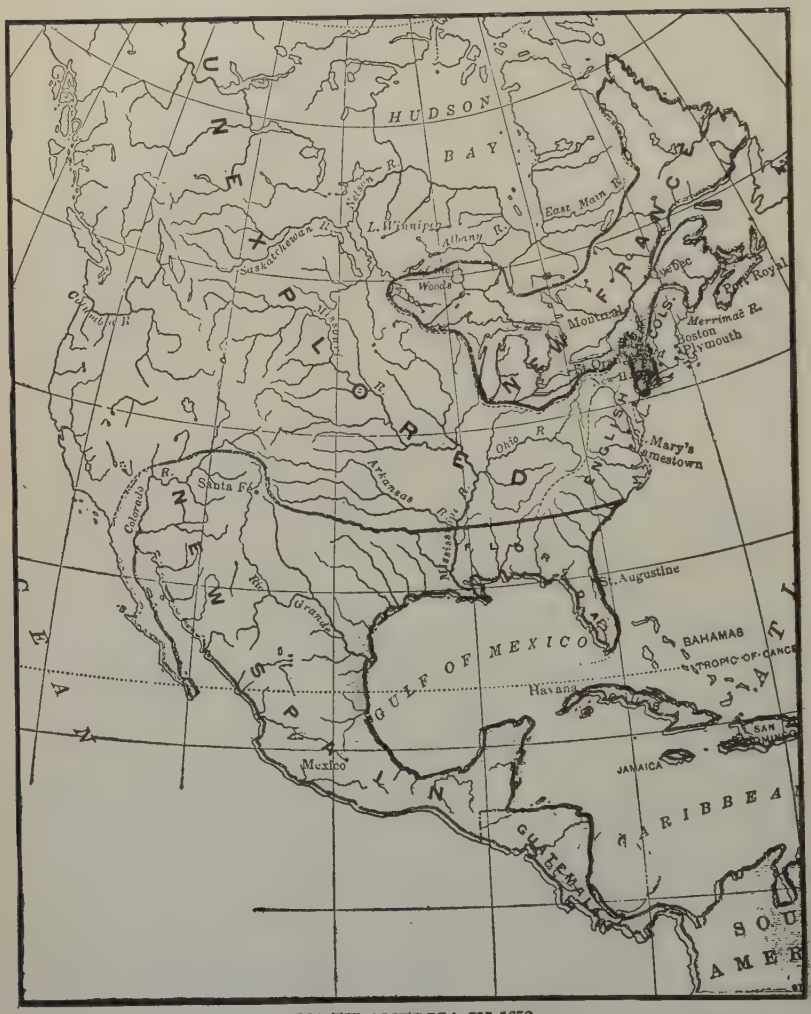
"The daring enterprise of the French trader and the devoted heroism of the French missionary in their discovery of the Northwest have been related. Up the rapids of the St. Lawrence, through the chain of the vast inland seas, and down the rushing waters of the Mississippi swept the tide of French discovery. With the exception of a strip of land lying along the Atlantic and extending scarcely a hundred miles back into the wilderness, the continent of North America at the middle of the eighteenth century belonged to his most Christian majesty by the well recognized right of discovery and occupation. In the court of nations it mattered nothing that the soil was in the actual possession not of Frenchmen but of Indians, and that the foot of white men had never trod more than the smallest fraction of the country over which France claimed domain. While recognizing the policy of conciliating the Indians, France nevertheless, claimed the exclusive right to acquire from them, and to dispose of, the land which they occupied, and to make laws for the government of the country."

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH COMPETITION.

In the year 1498, more than a third of a century before Jacques Cartier's little vessel ploughed her way up the broad St. Lawrence, the Cabots (John and Sebastian, under Henry VII) discovered the continent of North America and sailed as far as Virginia.

"Acting under their charter to discover countries then unknown to Christian people, and to take possession of them in the name of the King of England, these bold adventurers laid the foundation of the English title to the Atlantic coast. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, that France and England followed up their discoveries, and began to perfect their respective titles by actual occupation of the regions discovered by their venturesome navigators."

In 1585 the picturesque Sir Walter Raleigh got permission from Queen Elizabeth for his Captain Richard Grenville to found an English



NORTH AMERICA IN 1650.

colony on Roanoke Island, in the present state of North Carolina, "the first English settlement established on the continent of North America." This colony was abortive. In 1607 the Jamestown (Va.) colony became the first permanent English settlement in America. Under its charter of 1609 this company "became possessed in absolute property of the lands extending along the sea coast two hundred miles north and the same distance south from Old Point Comfort, and into the land throughout from sea to sea." Again in 1620 came the time honored Pilgrims under the charter of the Plymouth Company, to which had been conveyed "all the lands between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of North latitude." In course of time the special charters of these colonies were either annuled or surrendered, and the title to the lands reverted to the crown, to be disposed of from time to time as his majesty might see fit, in creating colonies along the Atlantic.

"These early grants of land, stretching from the known Atlantic back through unknown regions to the illusive South Sea dreamed of by adventurers through the ages, comprised within their infinite parallels all the Northwest save only the upper two-thirds of the present states of Michigan and Wisconsin. The lines of Virginia included the lower half of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; Connecticut, by virtue of her charter, claimed the upper half of that territory; and Massachusetts likewise obtained the shadow of a title to the southern half of Wisconsin and of the lower peninsula of Michigan. However, it was not until the treaty of 1763 brought these regions within the actual possession of the British crown that the claims of Connecticut and Massachusetts could be made even upon paper. New York, too, had unsubstantial claims to the Ohio country, based on the conquests of its allies, the Iroquois."

Virginia seemed to be the center that attracted the most enterprising English colonists, and to have sent forth the ventursome settlers into the northwest. Virginia was on the frontier lines of westward pioneer emigration.

FIRST OHIO COMPANY.

The year 1748 found George Washington making surveys in the Shenandoah Valley, and obtaining his first experience of border life and border people. "In this year 1748, while the rich lands of the garden of Virginia were being laid off and populated, the enterprising men of the colony put their heads together to secure the territory beyond the Alleghanies, but still within the chartered limits of the province. The prime mover in the scheme was Thomas Lee, the president of his majesty's Virginia council, and with him were associated, among others, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, half brothers of George. The London partner was Thomas Hanbury, a merchant of wealth and influence. Taking the name of the

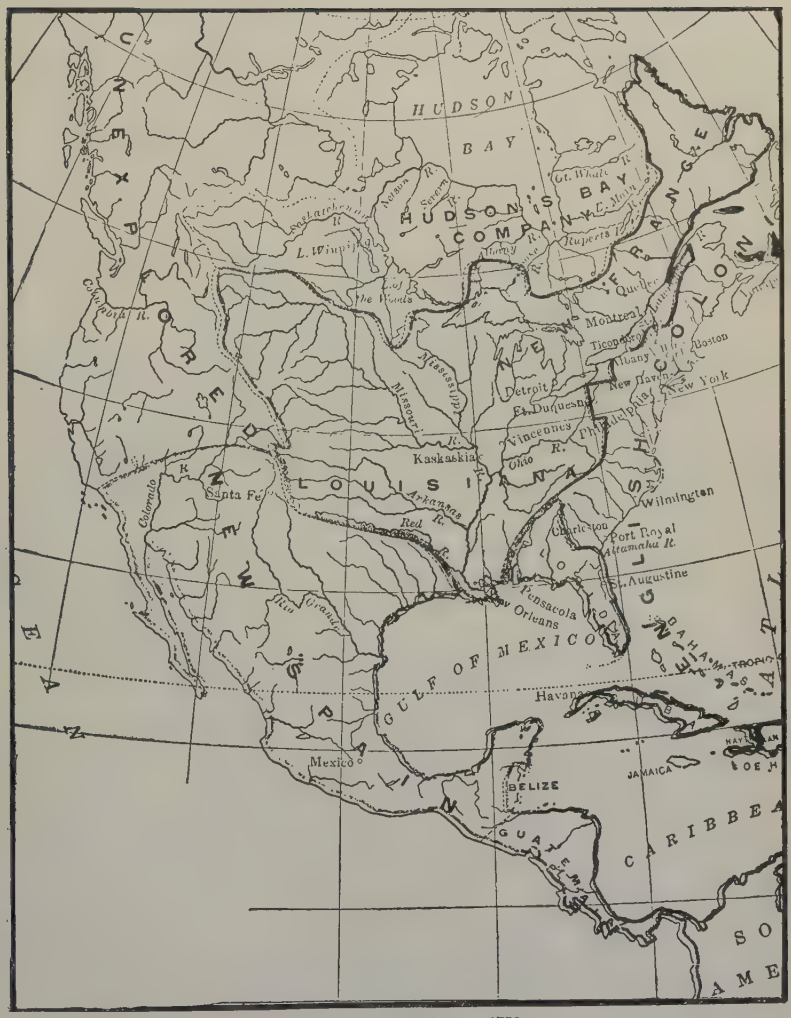
OHIO COMPANY,

the associates presented to the king a petition for half a million acres of land on the south side of the Ohio river, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers, with the privilege of selecting a portion of the lands on north side. Two hundred thousand acres were to be taken up at once; one hundred families were to be seated within seven years, and a fort was to be built as a protection against hostile Indians. The king readily assented to a proposition which promised an effective and inexpensive means of occupying the Ohio Valley, which was claimed by the French by right of discovery and occupation. These claims France was just then in a mood to make good." "Before the company's agent could take the field, France had decided upon her course of action. While the French government, either at home or in Canada, could do little to prevent individual English traders from wandering at will through the forest towns, the formation of the Ohio Company under royal sanction, proposing as it did to carve a half million acres out of what the French regarded as their domain, was not a matter to be tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock between the Cabinet at Versailles and the Cabinet at St. James."

CELORON DE BIENVILLE.

The French proceeded to take the only course open to them. They occupied the Ohio Valley in force. Preliminary to more active military operations, the Chevalier Celoron de Bienville, at the command of Galissoniere, commander in chief of New France, was sent to take personal possession of the Ohio. Celoron with a band of more than two hundred French officers and Canadian soldiers and boatmen, proceeded "along the shores of the fitful Lake Erie, and the flotilla of twenty-three birch bark canoes skimmed its rapid way during the summer of 1749. Striking across the country to Lake Chautauqua, the barks were launched on that water and thence a path was found to the headwaters of the Allegheny river. Floating down the Ohio the fleet stopped now to treat with the Indians, and to tack upon some tree or again to bury at the mouth of some tributary a head plate inscribed with the flower-de-luce, and bearing a legend to the effect that thus the French renewed their possession of the Ohio river, and of all those rivers that flow into it, as far as their sources, the same as was enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the preceding kings of France," etc. Dropping into slang, this tin plate posting was the "lead pipe cinch" of the Gauls.

From the Ohio the party of occupation made its way up the Miami to Lake Erie and thence to Quebec. In many Indian villages Celoron found English traders. These he sent back to the colonies with warnings not to again trespass upon French territory.



NORTH AMERICA IN 1750.

CHRISTOPHER GIST.

Nothing daunted by the theatrical expedition of Celeron, the Ohio Company, in September, 1750, called from his home on the Yadkin that shrewd and hardy pioneer, Christopher Gist. No better selection could have been made. Gist's instructions directed him "to go out as soon as possible to the westward of the great mountains, in order to search out and discover the lands upon the Ohio River and other adjoining branches of the Mississippi down as low as the Great Falls thereof." He was to observe the ways and passes from the mountains, the width and depth of the rivers, what nations of Indians inhabited the lands, whom they traded with and of what they dealt. In particular he was to mark all the good level lands so that they might be easily found, for it was the purpose of the Ohio Company to go all the way down to the Mississippi, if need be, in order not to take mean broken land. Gist set out from Colonel Cresap's on the Potomac in Maryland and followed the old Indian path up the Juniata. He was twenty-one days reaching the Seneca Village of Logstown on the Ohio, eighteen miles below Pittsburgh. At Beaver Creek Gist fell in with Barney Curran, an Ohio Company trader, and together they crossed the country to the Muskingum, where they found an Indian town of a hundred families over which was flying the English flag raised there by George Croghan, who welcomed Gist. Gist then proceeded to the Scioto Creek, where they came to a Delaware Village, and at the mouth of which they found the Shawnees. Gist, accompanied by Croghan, then turned north and after a journey of one hundred and fifty miles, came to the town of Tawightwi, afterwards known as Piqua on the Miami, in the present Ohio county of Miami. It was then the capital of the powerful western confederacy, the strongest Indian town in that part of the continent. Gist proceeded down the Scioto and then down the Ohio nearly to the present site of Louisville, whence he returned home through the valley of Cuttawa, or Kentucky. In June, 1752, the Indians met Gist and the Virginian Commissioners at Logstown, and in spite of the French intrigues made a treaty whereby the Ohio Company was allowed to make settlements south of the Ohio and to build a fort at the forks of that river. Thus far the project of the Ohio Company had fair prospects. The Indians were well disposed to the English, and colonial traders overrun the entire country from the very gates of Montreal to the Mississippi, but the French were not idle, and Celoron, now commandant at Detroit, in 1752, was ordered to drive the English traders from the Miami Villages and thus to realize his occupation of the Ohio country in 1749. Meanwhile Duquesne, one of the most distinguished French generals in the war then waging in the colonies between the French and the English, prepared to cut off the English from the Ohio country, and early in the spring of 1753, with a mixed force of English troops, Canadians and Indians, numbering not far from 1500, set out from Montreal

and in due time reached the harbor of Lake Erie, then known as Presqu 'Isle, now known as Erie. There he built a post, then advancing they built another at La Bouef Creek and a third at Venango on the Allegheny.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE OF VIRGINIA.

Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, who had become a member of the Ohio Company, was not slow to see that the plans of the corporation would come to nothing if once the French were allowed to reach the Ohio. He resolved to send a messenger to ascertain the force of the French and to deliver to their commanding officer the demand of Virginia that all French troops be withdrawn from the country included within the chartered limits of that colony. The messenger selected for this delicate and arduous task was Major George Washington, then a sedate youth of twenty-one, who had held the position of Adjutant General in the Virginia malitia since he was nineteen. Washington left Mt. Vernon, secured the services of Christopher Gist and proceeded to Logstown, where they met the Half King of the Six Nations, who had previously told the French that they had no business in that country. As between the French and the English, the Indians might well side with the former, (says Mr. Moore); because the French never contemplated the possession and cultivation of the lands, but merely the establishment of trading stations. The French proposed to trade with the Indians, the English colonies proposed to dispossess them. Eventually the English policy came to be but a continuation of the French, while the policy of the colonists was either to acquire by purchase or by force and to bring under cultivation of the lands that formed the hunting grounds of the Indians. It may be admitted that the French policy was more just to the Indian; but the Scotch-Irish, the Germans, the Swiss and the other people of Europe, escaping the intolerable conditions of the Old World, could not be stopped in their rush to make homes for themselves in the fertile wilderness of America. Moreover, there was much truth in the reply of the French commander to the Half King, that the land did not belong to the Indians, for the French had taken possession of the Ohio while the present tribes were dwelling elsewhere. The Indians (then inhabitating that section) had come there since the French discoveries and claims. The tribes were at war with one another. "To maintain the richest lands on earth as a game preserve for a few savages, when hundreds of thousands of civilized beings were seeking homes and liberty might be theoretical justice, but certainly was not consistent with the strongest impulse of human nature." On December 4th, (1753), Washington and his party, attended by the Half King and other chiefs, reached Venango, an old Indian town near the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny. Here were more parleyings between the Virginians, the French and the Indians. Washington's journal of this expedition to the Ohio being sent to the Lords of Trade and by them published in

England, aroused the nation to a sense of the peril in which English territory was placed by the advance of the French. The immediate result was an order from the Lords of Trade addressed to the governors of the colonies to meet and consult and take united action against the encroachments of the French and to renew their covenant with the Six Nations. Governor Dinwiddie at the same time put Virginia under war footing, and shortly the war was well on, the details of which we cannot follow, though interesting. This order of the London Lords of Trade to the colonies to unite was an unwitting suggestion of their power in union, and Benjamin Franklin, at the convention in Albany, presented a well worked out plan for the definite unión of the colonies under a governor to be appointed by the crown. And now (February, 1755) General Edward Braddock appeared on the Potomac, as the commander in chief of His Majesty's forces in America, and marched with his army towards Fort Duquesne, which he arrogantly asserted he would easily take and drive the French back to Montreal.

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

The result is school boy history; how the French, Canadians and Indians, a motely mixture under the command of De Beaujeu, met and ignominiously defeated Braddock, who, happily for his fame, found a brave death amid disgraceful defeat. Braddock's failure was the beginning of the fame of Washington, who fought by his side in that memorable encounter. The defeat of Braddock brought down upon the defensive settlers the stealthy raids of the relentless savages who with fire and scalping knife would drive the frontier back to the Atlantic. Throughout the Indian towns of the Ohio were distributed the captive wives and children of the murdered backwoodsmen.

UNDER THE ENGLISH FLAG.

Then followed the expeditions of Johnson and Shirley which were scarcely more fortunate than that of Braddock. Desperate was now becoming the situation for the English power in America, and in Europe matters were still worse. But the tide finally turned; the Anglo-Saxon was to win. Wolfe's brave victory at Quebec, followed by the capitulation of Montreal (September, 1760) gave with it the dominion of the Northwest from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; the transfer of power in the Northwest from the French to the English flag. But far away from the scene of hostilities, the little French colony at Detroit stolidly continued on its accustomed way regardless of coming changes. In the recesses of the Northwest the French, aided by the Indians, still disputed the territory with the invading English.

CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.

Mr. Moore then devotes an interesting chapter to the Pontiac conspiracy and war. Pontiac, a North American Indian chief of the Ottawa tribe, was the staunchest ally of the French. In 1762, he formed a coalition of many western tribes, which, at his instigation, attacked various English garrisons and western settlements. He besieged Detroit without success in 1763, the same year that the treaty of peace was signed at Paris between the English and the French, which treaty closed the Seven Years War, or the French and Indian War, as it was known in British America. The result of this war to England was the cession by France of her American possessions to the English nation. Canada became an English possession, the province of Quebec was created, and a military rule of eleven years followed, when in 1774, the Quebec Act was passed, extending the Quebec province to the Ohio and Mississippi. The English home government decided, as one of the results of their new acquisition, "that within their respective colonies, governors and councils might dispose of the crown lands to settlers, but no governor or commander in chief should presume, upon any pretense whatever, to grant warrants of survey or pass patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, and until the King's pleasure should be further known, the lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic, were especially reserved to the Indian tribes for hunting grounds. The valley of the Ohio and the country about the Great Lakes was not open to settlement or to purchase without special leave and license, and all other persons who had either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any land within the prohibited zone between the Allegheny and the southern limits of the Hudson Bay Company's territory, were warned to remove themselves from such settlements. In order to put a stop to the 'great frauds and abuses that had been committed in purchasing lands from the Indians to the great prejudice of our interests and to the great dissatisfaction of the Indians, and to convince the Indians of the justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent,' no private purchases of Indian lands within the colonies were to be allowed, but all such Indian lands must first be purchased by the representatives of the crown from the Indians in open assembly. Trade with the Indians was to be free and open to all British subjects, but every trader was to be required to take out a license and to give security to observe such regulations as might be made for the regulation of such trade. Fugitives from justice found within the Indian lands were to be seized and returned to the settlements for trial."

"Such was the first charter of the northwest, if charter is the correct word to apply to an instrument that created a forest preserve and provided merely for the apprehension and deportation of rogues and trespassers."

To the new provinces was held out the hope that in time they might grow into the status of colonies each with their popular assembly instead of an appointive council, and within their borders English law was to prevail, but the northwest was to be treated simply as the roaming place of savages. While the partition of North America was engaging the attention of the three great nations of Europe, the people of the colonies were eager to occupy the new regions won by their valor. The members of the Ohio Company, whose enterprise had been rudely checked by the French occupation of lands patented to them, at once set about establishing their rights. To this end, Colonel Thomas Cresap made overtures to the chivalric

HENRY BOUQUET,

the British commander at Fort Pitt. He wished also to enlist Bouquet in the enterprise of the Ohio Company. Bouquet pointed out that the British engaged not to settle the lands beyond the Allegheny and that no settlements on the Ohio could be permitted until the consent of the Indians could be procured, and Bouquet further issued at Fort Pitt (October 30, 1761) a proclamation in which, after referring to the treaty which preserved as an Indian hunting ground country to the west of the Alleghenies, he forbade either settlements or hunting in the western country unless by special permission of the commander-in-chief or by the governor of one of the provinces. As might be expected, Bouquet's proclamation gave rising uneasiness in Virginia, as it seemed to obstruct the resettling of lands which had been taken up by patent under his majesty and from which the settlers had been driven back by the late war. Bouquet was bound to keep the "vagabonds and outlaws," as he called them, out of the Indian territory, claiming that this was not only in accordance with the treaty, but for the express purpose of quieting the Ohio Indians by confirming to them the right to occupy their lands north of that river, and Bouquet was justified in using all means in his power to compel the observance of the contract, but the task was beyond the ability of any commander. Meanwhile, the Indians throughout the Northwest had become aroused at the encroachments of the whites and were prepared to defend their country against the invaders. Indeed they besieged and secured several of the forts occupied by the English, and an encounter took place between the English troops under Bouquet and the Indians at Bushy Run, which made Bouquet the hero of the frontiersmen and brought to his standard innumerable volunteers for an expedition to the Ohio towns. In October, 1764, Bouquet's military expedition set out from Logstown. Turning to the west, his little army entered the Indian country, a region of trackless forests, filled with unknown numbers of the subtlest savages east of the Mississippi. Mr. Moore then gives a detailed account of Bouquet's expedition to the Muskingum and his encounters with the Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa and Wyandotte Indians and his return to Fort Pitt. Bouquet's expedition was followed by the voyage of discovery of

GEORGE CROGHAN

to the Illinois country in the summer of 1765. Croghan's mission to the Illinois having paved the way for the peaceful occupation of the British, Captain James Sterling and a hundred Highlanders descended the Ohio; and five years after the surrender of Detroit, on October 10, 1765, St. Ange de Bellevive, commander of the French at Fort Chartres, had the mournful honor and secret relief of hauling down the last French flag in the Northwest. Then follows the disputes and conflicting claims of the Six Nations in the east and the other Indian tribes of the west for the title or right to the lands between the Allegheny and the Ohio.

FORT STANWIX COUNCIL.

Finally in September, 1768, a great council was held at Fort Stanwix, on the present site of Rome, New York. There the representatives of the English government and the various Indian tribes came to an agreement that for six thousand dollars in money and goods, the Indian title to Kentucky, West Virginia and the western portion of Pennsylvania should be transferred to the English crown. Thus the way opened for a new colony beyond the Alleghenies. But the Indians occupying portions of the ceded lands were reluctant to yield possession and border conflicts ensued, particularly along the Virginia and Kentucky frontier.

DUNMORE'S WAR.

A considerable number of Virginians had settled along the Ohio below Fort Pitt, thereby encroaching on the lands of the Delawares and Shawnees. Dispute also arose between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to their dividing line. The Indian border war finally burst forth in 1774, when Governor Dunmore of Virginia placed himself at the head of a body of troops and with General Andrew Lewis in subordinate command, proceeded to the banks of the Kanawha near Point Pleasant, where they with eleven hundred men, met the allied Indians led by the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk. After a desperate all-day battle, one-fifth of the whites were either killed or wounded, while the Indians withdrew with a loss of about forty killed. Eager to follow up his dearly bought victory, General Lewis crossed the Ohio and marched his army to the Pickaway Plains whither he had been summoned by Lord Dunmore. Lewis demanded a peace treaty. The great Mingo chief, Logan, refused to enter the council and when Lord Dunmore summoned him, he sent as a reply that famous speech which has been the model for each subsequent generation of school boys. Cornstalk's counsel prevailed and the Indians submitted to peace.

QUEBEC BILL.

The British policy of maintaining the Northwest as an Indian hunting ground was a failure, moreover, even such law abiding citizens as Washington never took seriously the proclamation of 1763, as prohibiting settlements beyond the mountains, but steadfastly maintained that the Ohio country was within the chartered limits of Virginia. In the treaty of 1763 Great Britain acknowledged a limit to the western extension of her sea board colonies, by accepting the Mississippi river as the boundary of her American possessions. The Atlantic colonies acceded to this curtailment of their western limits; but when by the King's proclamation which followed, the colonies found themselves confined to the seaward slope of the Appalachians, their western extension made crown territory to be given over to the uses of the Indians, there were signs of discontent. To keep the opposition within bounds and once more to apply a territorial check, the Quebec Bill in 1774 was passed by Parliament, by which the Northwest territory was partially taken from the colonies and placed under the jurisdiction of the crown with certain obnoxious features of control. Under the provision of the act Detroit was made the capital of the territory northwest of the Ohio, and civil officers were selected according to the spoils system then at its height in England. This Quebec Act was one of the factors that caused the Revolution. In spite of petitions to repeal it, it continued in operation until 1791, when a new government was given to Quebec and Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada. Then follows the American Revolution, which it is not the province of Mr. Moore to follow in detail. He confines himself to the events in and effecting the Northwest, and the part played by the Indians and the frontiersmen who were prominent, like the Girtys, (Simon, James and George), and McKee and others. In the Revolution Virginia took the lead, which she had always taken in the western region and her expedition under

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,

rendered it easier for the American Commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of 1782, to include this ample domain within its American Union. Clark saw that so long as the British held Detroit, Kaskaskia, Vincennes and the commanding forts, so long would England be able to keep up an effective warfare along the rear of the colonies. Under instructions of Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, George Rogers Clark raised an armament of some two hundred volunteers and woodsmen, and in May, 1778, started on his famous campaign, which took his party amid many perils and adventures through the northwest. He took from the English Kaskaskia and Vincennes, relieved Cahokia and invaded the country of the Shawnees and defeated the Miamis. It was the conquest of Illinois

for the colonists. To his wise valor and military genius was due more than to any other the securing of the Northwest to the new republic. Clark's capture of Vincennes and the Illinois posts paralyzed the English efforts to carry on an offensive campaign on the frontier of the United States and confined their efforts to petty warfare in the shape of Indian raids against the Ohio and Kentucky settlements.

SPAIN'S CLAIMS.

Spain takes a hand in the affairs of this period. In 1779 she declared war against England and seized the English posts of Natchez, Baton Rouge and Mobile; and these stations, together with St. Louis, gave Spain practically the control of the Mississippi Valley. The records of the Americans during these events are not free from stain, as must be acknowledged in the massacre of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten by the soldiers of Colonel David Williamson in 1782. The warlike torture and death of Colonel William Crawford by the Indians, near Upper Sandusky, in the same year, was one of the savage retaliations, not without some justification.

The end of the American Revolution (1783) did not settle all the difficulties of the situation in the northwest. England had neglected to provide for her Indian allies, who had devoted themselves to her cause. England refused to surrender the northwestern posts according to the terms of peace. She insisted on holding the posts to protect her fur trade with the Indians, and as a guarantee to secure the claims of the Loyalists who were to be indemnified for their losses. By the retention of these frontier posts, England forced the United States into Indian wars that continued even to the close of the war of 1812. Moreover, the Indians regarded the country between the Ohio and the Great Lakes as their own territory, within which no European power had rights. Neither France nor England, they claimed, had ever acquired title, hence they could pass none.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

No one appreciated this situation better than President Washington, who was himself a large owner of Ohio lands, but whose concern for the expansion and strengthening of the nation was of such a character as to make his personal interests not a bias, but simply a means of knowledge. More closely than any other man then living he had been identified with the beginnings of western conquests. As a young man he had played a large part in wresting the northwest from France; and now in his maturer years he was to direct those forces which were forever to bind that territory to the United States.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

The result of the American Revolution gave the great northwest to the United States, but at once opened many conflicting claims between the states as to respective rights to the newly acquired territory. For be it remembered the original states had charters for the land as far west as it might go. It was now proposed that the various states yield to the new national government these western claims; which the government might sell for the common good and out of which new states might be created. This cession on the part of the various states followed, and the great territory of the northwest was government domain subject to later disposition.

UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG.

"How the French discovered and possessed the Northwest; how England wrested New France from her ancient enemy; how George Rogers Clark made partial conquest of the territory for Virginia; how the treaty-makers won extensive boundaries for the new nation; and how at the instance of Maryland, the claimant state, and especially Virginia, by 'the most marked instance of a large and generous self-denial,' made cession of their lands to the general government—all these things have been told. It now remains to discover how this vast empire larger than any country in Europe save Russia, was to be governed and peopled. For the most part this immense region was an unbroken wilderness; but tales of the richness of its alluvial soil, and its accessibility by means of noble streams and great inland seas, had caught the ear of people made restless by the possibilities opened up by a magnificent peace attained after a prolonged and wasting war."

On July 13, 1787, Congress passed the famous ordinance establishing the Northwest Territory and its government.

"On the very day that Virginia made cession of her claims, Thomas Jefferson came forward in Congress with a plan for the government of the ceded territory. There were still three obstacles in the way of exercising jurisdiction: First, there were controversies with Spain as to the western boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi. Second, England still held military possession of the frontiers; and third, the ceded territory was occupied by numerous hostile tribes of Indians. With the exception of the reservations made as to territory by Virginia, and as to both territory and jurisdiction by Connecticut, the United States succeeded alike to the jurisdiction and to the title to unoccupied lands. That is to say, the power to grant vacant lands within the ceded territory, a power that had formerly resided in the crown, or the proprietary governments created by the crown, now passed, by reason of the state cession, into the possession of the government of the United States; and to the general government belonged the exclusive right to extinguish, either

by purchase or by conquest, the Indian title of occupancy. It is important to remember this fact, as it is the key to the otherwise perplexing subject of Northwestern affairs."

It is not necessary to recite the well known history and nature of the 1787 ordinance.

THE (SECOND) OHIO COMPANY.

The first Ohio Company organized in 1749, as we have seen, never came to fruition in its plans. Its schemes and efforts were lost in the current of events with which it unsuccessfully struggled.

The war of the Revolution ended, Rufus Putnam returned to the little Rutland, Massachusetts, farm-house, that today stands as a memorial of him, there to scheme and plan the building, not of fortifications, but of a state—"A new state west of the Ohio," as Timothy Pickering puts it. In 1783 Putnam sent to Washington a petition to Congress signed by 228 officers, who prayed for the location and survey of the Western lands; and the next year Washington writes his old friend that he has tried in vain to have Congress take action. Appointed one of the surveyors of the Northwestern lands, Putnam sent General Tupper in his stead; and on the return of the latter from Pittsburg, the two spent a long January night in framing a call to officers and soldiers of the war, and all other good citizens of Massachusetts who desired to find new homes on the Ohio. On March 4, 1786, the Ohio Company was formed at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern in Boston; and Putnam, Reverend Manassah Cutler, and General Samuel H. Parsons were made the directors. The winter was spent in perfecting the plan; then Parsons was sent to New York to secure a grant of lands and the passage of an act for a government. He failed. Putnam now turned to his fellow-director, Cutler. On July 27 Cutler found himself the possessor of a grant of five million acres of land, one-half for the Ohio Company, and one-half for a private speculation which became known as the Scioto Purchase.

While the officers of the new territory were virtually settled upon at this time, it was not until October 5 that Congress elected Arthur St. Clair governor; James M. Varnum, Samuel Holden Parsons, and John Armstrong, judges; and Winthrop Sargent, secretary; subsequently John Cleves Symmes took the place of Mr. Armstrong, who declined the appointment.

On August 29, Dr. Cutler met the directors and agents of the Ohio Company at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern to report that he had made a contract with the Board of Treasury for a million dollars' "worth of lands at a net price of seventy-five cents an acre; that the lands were to be located on the Ohio, between the Seven Ranges platted under the direction of Congress and the Virginia lands, that lands had been reserved by the government for school and university purposes, according to the Massachusetts plan; and that bounty lands might be located within the tract. The next day the plat of a city on the Muskingum was settled

upon, and proposals for saw mill and corn mill sites were invited from prospective settlers. So it happened that the future State of Ohio was planned in a Boston tavern.

On April 1, 1788, the Ohio Company embarked at Youghiogheny. The flotilla consisted of the forty-five ton galley *Adventure*, afterwards appropriately rechristened the *Mayflower;* the *Adelphia*, a three-ton ferry, and three log canoes. A week's journey down the river Ohio brought them to their landing place, known as Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum and on the eastern side of that stream at its junction with the Ohio. First to greet them was the famous Captain Pipe, a Delaware Indian, and with him came the garrison from Fort Harmar to give a continental welcome to the home makers. On the morning of the 9th of July following, the boom of a boat's gun woke the echoes between the forest lined banks of the broad Ohio in honor of the arrival at the capital of the Governor of the Northwest Territory, General Arthur St. Clair. He was accompanied by other leading officials of the New Northwestern territorial government.

CONQUEST OF THE NORTHWEST POSTS.

The Indians of the Northwest of Ohio and Illinois (to be) disputed the ingress of the white man. The expedition and failure of General Josiah Harmar; the brief campaign and defeat of General Arthur St. Clair are events not glorious in western annals and are soon told. Mr. Moore's book closes with the campaign of the brave and brilliant General Anthony Wayne who was chosen by Washington to retrieve the misfortunes of Harmar and St. Clair. The story of Wayne's movements and achievements has been often told. The result of the victory of Fallen Timbers (near Toledo) was the treaty of Greenville. There Wayne was visited by the various chiefs to whom he explained that the United States had conquered Great Britain, and were entitled to the possession of the Lake posts; that the new American government was anxious to make peace with the Indians; to protect them in the possession of abundant hunting grounds which would be apportioned to them, and to compensate them for the lands needed by the white settlers. The Indians finally acceded and the Greenville Treaty was accomplished. Though this treaty yielded to the Americans the territory mainly of the Northwest, portions of the tribes subsequently sought the aid of the Canadian English to regain their hunting grounds, or assist them in the desperate but impossible effort to stay the westward tide of American civilization. But these efforts were futile, and the culmination of the war of 1812 forever sealed the fate of England in the new territory and took away the last hope of the Redman that he might again possess the Ohio Valley.

BLENNERHASSET REDIVIVUS.

The *Century* for July (1901) contains an article by Therese Blennerhassett Adams on "The True Story of Harman Blennerhassett." The author very briefly recites the history of the Blennerhassetts who built that magnificent mansion on the historic island in the Ohio near Belpre in the year 1798.* The article is valuable historically as authentically stating that the main, if not sole cause of the departure from Ireland and emigration to America of the Blennerhassets, was their social ostracization, owing to the fact that the wife of Harman Blennerhassett was his niece.

"Early in 1796 Harman Blennerhassett, then thirty-one years old, married in England Miss Margaret Agnew, daughter of Captain Robert Agnew of Howlish, County Durham, a young lady of eighteen. Her father was lieutenant governor of the Isle of Man, and a son of General James Agnew of American Revolutionary fame." The mother of Margaret Agnew was Catherine, one of the sisters of Harman Blennerhassett. For this cause she (Margaret) was disinherited. The young lady was absent at school; her uncle (Harman) was sent to take her home; instead of doing so he married her. He was thirty-one. The families on both sides—the Agnews and the Blennerhassets, forever afterwards turned their backs upon the eloping couple. Harman broke the entail established by his father Conway Blennerhassett, and sold his share of the estate to Thomas Mullin, afterward Lord Ventry. He received $160,000 in money. Besides this he was the recipient of an income of $6600 and more, which belonged to the entailed estate as a separate portion, which could not be transferred and the use of which he had until death.

The connection of Blennerhassett with the Burr expedition is not discussed at any length. It is only admitted that Blennerhassett became heavily involved financially in the schemes of Burr. "Blennerhassett's reason" says the author, "for joining Burr was not that of adventure, but to remove himself farther from those who knew him. He had family friends who respected him through the position he occupied in his own country. Among those who knew the sad story of his life, there were not many on this side of the water, but the dread was with him always that the truth would become known to his children."

Therese Blennerhassett Adams repudiates the generally promulgated account of the extreme poverty and desolate "taking off" of both Harman and Margaret Blennerhassett. "The abject-poverty tales of Blennerhassett and his family serve well the purpose of romance but not of fact, because they are untrue." Blennerhassett was well cared for till his death, which occurred at Port Pierre, Island of Guernsey, February 2, 1831. Margaret died June 16, 1842, in her sixty-fourth year "in the house she herself rented and paid for" at 75 Greenwich Street, New York.

* See Volume I, page 127, Publications Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

A DREAM OF EMPIRE.

One of the most successful additions to the list of historical novels of the day is "A Dream of Empire or the House of Blennerhassett," by William Henry Venable, author of "A History of the United States," etc. Mr. Venable is a resident of Cincinnati, a literateur and scholar well known throughout the country. His little volume published by Dodd, Mead and Company is a most entertaining narrative of the Blennerhassets in America; their residence on the island in the Ohio, the Burr Expedition, the pathetic and tragic termination of the romantic and strange career of Harman Blennerhassett and his beautiful and fascinating wife Margaret. Mr. Venable has accomplished his purpose admirably. He has told the story of his subject clearly and most interestingly. He has adhered closely to the historical events and yet has infused enough of poetic and dramatic imagination to add a "fictional charm" so to speak to the cold truth upon which his work is based. His delineations of the characters of both Harman and Margaret Blennerhassett, of Aaron Burr and General Wilkinson are splendid literary portraitures—natural and well sustained. The humorous character of Plutarch Byle is an exquisite creation of an amusing and original personage who delightfully relieves the reader of tedium or danger of weariness over the continuation of calamities that befall the leading *dramatis personae.* Mr. Venable chose a most fitting theme for his historical taste and literary ability. One can get no better idea of the people and incidents of the Blennerhassett episode than by reading Professor Venable's little volume. It has the atmosphere and rehabilitated environment of the times in which it is located.

EARLY HISTORY OF AUGLAIZE COUNTY.

Professor J. D. Simkins, Superintendent Public Schools, St. Marys, Ohio, is the producer of a little volume with the above title. Professor Simkins has done a good thing. His book is accurate, reliable, concise, packed with well settled information and put so as to be valuable to the general reader and useful as a text book for the student. It presents just the sort of material, in just the right manner, that our young people ought to get. Professor Simkins goes back a good ways into the dim and misty past "before man came into the world." He tells briefly of the "shell people," the "Cave men," the "Mound Builders"; "prehistoric Indians;" the different stone ages, polished, rough and tough; gives us much concerning the life and pursuits of the Indians and a most excellent and extended description of the various Indian tribes, particularly the Miamis, Wyandots and Shawnees, that inhabited Auglaize county. This part of Mr. Simkins' work is of interest to any student of Ohio or of the Indian people. The author also presents in chronological

order the numerous and important historical events that transpired in his county. The little book is illustrated and has a large folding map of the territory which it treats. Auglaize county was a sort of geographical and historical pivotal point in Ohio. It was the chief gate way for Indians and whites between Lake Erie and the Ohio river for sixty-five years (1749–1814). "The reader should remember that the Maumee rises in the southern part of our county (Auglaize) south of Wapakoneta and flows north into Lake Erie and that the Great Miami rises a few miles further east and flows south into the Ohio. The source of the St. Mary is really the source of the Maumee. Boats can ply on the Miami from our county to the Ohio and on the Maumee from here to Lake Erie." With only a few miles of portage there was water passage from the Erie to the Ohio.

OHIO EDUCATIONAL MONTHLY.

The *Ohio Educational Monthly* in its number for July, 1901, celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of that publication. The burden of half a century rests gracefully upon this time honored and highly esteemed monthly. No publication in our state has ever exerted such a stimulating, wise and wide influence in favor of all that is best and most progressive in popular education. It has been an informing incentive to thousands of teachers, who have profited by its pages. It has had a distinguished line of editors and an innumerable host of illustrious contributors, and to-day it represents the best thought, methods and tendencies of our splendid state school system. We congratulate the *Educational Monthly* on its semi-centennial birth year. It has the maturity of longevity without the slightest symptom of antiquity. It is anything but archaic. It was never so youthful in spirit or so forceful in effort as now, under the editorship and proprietorship of Hon. O. T. Corson. The July number in question is of course unusually interesting. It recites the history of the *Monthly;* contains articles by many of the former editors and writers. Not the least of its valuable features is the department of "Current History" conducted by Professor F. B. Pearson; a concise statement or commentary on the leading world events of the day. The *Monthly* is evidently sharing the proverbial "prosperity of the day," for it is enabled to begin the new half century at the reduced price of one dollar per annum.

OHIO SOCIETY S. A. R.

The anniversary of the battles of Concord and Lexington was fittingly observed by the Ohio Society of the Sons of the Revolution at Columbus, Ohio, on April 19, 1901. At the business session in the afternoon at the Chittenden Hotel, the reports of the various committees were read, showing the year to have been the most prosperous in the history of the Society. The membership during the year had increased

from 507 to 592. A committee was appointed to make arrangements for the erection of small monuments, with appropriate inscriptions, at the graves of the 3004 soldiers of the American Revolution who are buried in Ohio, and whose resting places have never been designated in such a way as to tell of their connection with the great struggle for liberty. Congress in a recent session made an adequate appropriation for the marking of the graves of all soldiers of the American Revolution and the committee appointed by the Ohio Society was instructed to confer with the proper United States officials and carry out, as far as possible, the intention of the congressional appropriation.

A committee was also appointed to present a petition on behalf of the Society to the next state legislature asking for the enactment of a statute forbidding the use of the American Flag for advertising purposes, or any manner which tends to deprive it of its patriotic significance.

The following officers were elected to serve for the ensuing year. President, E. O. Randall, Columbus; Vice Presidents, Millard F. Anderson, Akron; Dr. Edward Cass, Dresden; Hon. Edward Kibler, Newark; Dr. William A. Galloway, Xenia; Mr. Thomas F. Whittlesey, Toledo; Secretary, Major Robert Mason Davidson, Newark; Treasurer, Mr. Stimpson G. Harvey, Toledo; Registrar, Col. Wm. L. Curry, Columbus; Historian, Dr. Lucius C. Herrick, Columbus; Chaplain, Rev. Julius W. Atwood, Columbus; Board of Managers, Col. Moulton Houk, Judge James H. Anderson, Mr. John Thomas, Mr. Gideon C. Wilson, Rev. Wilson R. Parsons, Mr. William H. Hunter, Dr. O. W. Aldrich.

In the evening the Society held an elaborate banquet in the rooms of the Columbus Club. Mr. Randall acted as toastmaster and the following program of toasts and responses was observed: Welcome Address, Kenneth D. Wood; Response, Col. W. A. Taylor; "The Soldiers of '61 to '66," Governor George K. Nash; "Our Navy," Hon. Charles J. Scroggs; "Our Army from 1776 to 1901", Gen. Thomas N. Anderson; "Lexington and Concord," Judge Tod B. Galloway; "The Little Red School House," Pres. W. O. Thompson; "Fort Washington," Col. John W. Harper; "The Heroes of the Revolution, The Builders of the Buckeye State," Orlando W. Aldrich; "The Revolutionary Soldiers in the Valley of Little Miami," Dr. William A. Galloway; "How Nearly We Escaped Being the Gallic Race," Dr. Edward Cass; "Our Flag," D. W. Locke.

The Society decided to hold its next annual meeting at Columbus, April 19, 1902.

OHIO DAY AT PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

JULY 18, 1901.

Never was the "Rainbow City" more radiant, attractive or active than on "Ohio Day," July 18, 1901, when thousands of Buckeyes made pilgrimage from their native state to Buffalo and proudly participated in the ceremonies and festivities of the formal dedication of the Ohio Building.

OHIO BUILDING.

The Ohio Building, one of the finest and most admired state edifices on the ground, naturally was the center of life, apart

OHIO BUILDING.

from the hours of the exercises in the Temple of Music. The architect is Mr. John Eisenmann of Cleveland, Ohio. It is pure white and stands out conspicuously among all state and foreign buildings. It is 100 by 80 feet in extent, with a 20 foot colonade

running entirely around it and adding materially to the ground space that it covers and to its majestic effect. Its style of architecture is Grecian. On the ground floor of the building are the offices for the Ohio Commission. There are also a woman's reception room, furnished handsomely with specially made oak furniture, and a gentleman's writing room, equally complete in appointment. The main feature of the ground floor, if not the building, is the assembly-room, an apartment 60 by 30 feet in extent; although it will accommodate 200 people without much crowding, it was far too small for the crowds of Ohioans who thronged the building on its dedication day. Adorning the walls are pictures of President McKinley, the late John Sherman, Senator Hanna, Senator Foraker, Ex-Governor Bushnell, Governor Nash and other of Ohio's favorite sons. The wall and ceiling decorations are unique with oriental plants rising from urns of Egyptian design. Gold-leaf figures artistically in the color scheme of the decorations in this room. On the second floor are spacious living rooms for the custodians of the building and a private room for the entertainment of distinguished guests. Hon C. L. Swain is in active charge of the building while Mrs. C. L. Swain gracefully fills the position of house hostess. Miss Georgia Hopley is a permanent resident as the accomplished correspondent of the daily papers. There are three pianos, scores of comfortable chairs, cool breezes, picturesque and fairy like views from the broad porticos, and in fact everything to make the visitor feel at home and long to stay. The building is most brilliant at night. It is lighted with acetylene gas, which gives a peculiar whitish light, a contrast to the rich yellow of the incandescent lighting of the other buildings, which makes the Ohio Building stand out preeminent.

PUBLIC CEREMONIES.

The dedication day was in keeping with all else, bright and balmy. The clerk of the weather must have been an Ohio man or the descendant of one, for he could not have furnished a kindlier sun or a gentler air. The Bison City was in gala attire and the Exposition, arrayed in all its "purple and fine linen," was in its jolliest and gayest mood.

To the credit of the people from the Buckeye State it may be said that their celebration of the day that had been set apart for them was more general and more enthusiastic than that of any other State at the Exposition. Men prominent in State and national affairs were there as well as the soldiery and the common every day citizen, all bent upon one mission, that of swelling the attendance of Ohioans and assisting to make the day a memorable one. Pride was apparent on the face of every wearer of the Buckeye and red ribbon.

The formal exercises of the day began with the starting of the parade from the 74th N. Y. Regiment Armory in the center of the city. The pageant, semi-military and semi-civic in character, was confined almost exclusively to Ohioans, although there was a sprinkling of local people, city and county officials and members of the Pan-American committees. The Eighth Ohio Regiment, one of the best appearing bodies of citizen soldiery that has ever paraded Buffalo streets and famous as being the "President's Own," constituted the military division of the pageant. The civic division was made up as follows: Carriages containing Gov. Nash of Ohio, President John G. Milburn of the Exposition Company, Senator Marcus A. Hanna, Hon. Frank H. Baird of Buffalo, the Governor's staff, the speakers of the day, the Ohio Pan-American Commissioners and city officials.

The Eighth Ohio Regiment, the advance guard of the parade and the official escort, arrived at the Lincoln Parkway entrance at 11.20 o'clock and marched into the grounds, preceding Gov. Nash and the other dignitaries. Near the Triumphal Causeway the regiment dressed to the right and presented arms as the distinguished guests alighted from the carriages and marched to the magnificent Temple of Music. Thousands of people who had

gathered about the Esplanade to witness the arrival of the parade cheered lustily as the guests marched to the Temple. At the doors of the Temple the guests were welcomed by Director-General Buchanan, His Honor Mayor Diehl, Treasurer Williams, Harry Hamlin, H. H. Seymour and others. The only guest expected by the officials and who failed to appear to the disappointment of the multitude was Senator Foraker.

The Temple of Music was packed with a brilliant and enthusiastic audience. To the inspiring strains of martial music the Ohio Commission, Honorables W. S. McKinnon of Ashtabula, S. L. Patterson of Waverly and C. L. Swain of Cincinnati escorted Governor Nash and his party upon the platform.

The dedicatory exercises began almost immediately. Hon. W. S. McKinnon, chairman of the Ohio Commission, called the assemblage to order, and introduced the Hon. Daniel J. Ryan of Columbus, chairman of the meeting, who spoke briefly, acknowledging his pleasure at such a general outpouring of Ohioans. He also expressed cordial good will for the success of the Exposition. Bishop B. W. Arnett of Wilberforce University delivered the invocation, after which the 65th N. Y. Regiment Band played a selection. Mme. Generva Johnstone-Bishop of Marion, then sang "The Holy City" in a manner which elicited the applause of the vast audience. The formal address of welcome was delivered by Director-General W. I. Buchanan. The address was short but appropriate and in a very few words Mr. Buchanan voiced the sentiments of every citizen of Buffalo in welcoming most heartily the citizens of the Buckeye State. He reminded the Ohioans that 123 years ago last Monday, following a banquet, which is one of the peculiarities of Ohio, civil government was established in their State. The people of the State made a good beginning and had kept up their record until to-day. It is generally understood that when anything in connection with civil government is required, all the people of this country have

to do is to call on Ohio men and they can supply it. Mr. Buchanan remarked that that he had the distinction in his boyhood to run barefoot and tramp down hay in a haymow and walk one and one-half miles to school in winter in the Ohio valley. He said he retained most pleasant recollections of his boyhood in Ohio. It was a great pleasure to welcome so many citizens of that State. He expressed the hope that all would thoroughly enjoy their visit and assured them of a most cordial welcome by the Exposition and the people of Buffalo.

GOV. NASH'S RESPONSE.

Gov. Nash made the response to the welcome. His speech was short and enthusiastically received.

"It is said that there is a word in the Japanese language," began the Governor, "which is spelled O–h–i–o, and which means good morning. Mr. Director General, the people of Ohio are here present to say good morning to you. I also desire to express our sincere appreciation of the splendid words the director general has uttered in regard to our State. While we of Ohio are proud of our State, we cannot forget that the State of New York is larger and older than Ohio. When we think of the things which have come to us in the last year, our memories go back to the pioneers who built Ohio, who were the most patriotic, most deserving and most splendid people, who came from New England, from Pennsylvania and from New York, and for its contribution to the builders of our State we always shall feel grateful to New York.

"We are proud of Ohio and its industries, its commerce and its men; so are you similarly proud of your great State of New York. But there is one thing of which we are prouder than we are of our riches; our splendid men. I am sure that you of New York are glad that Ohio has given to the Nation William McKinley as President (cheers), just as we of Ohio are glad that you have given to the country a Vice President in Theodore Roosevelt. (Cheers.) We should remember our sole allegiance is not due to Ohio only, nor to New York alone, but that we are only two of the forty–five States which make up this great Nation.

"Mr. Director General, we thank you for this great exposition which you have built here in Buffalo. Ohio desires in a small way to show its appreciation of what you have done. She has erected a building here, where, we hope, many thousands of our fellow citizens and of

the citizens of all the states and the republics to the south of us may spend many pleasant hours and may find rest and comfort. It is my duty to turn our building over to the Pan-American, and in doing so I express the sincere hope that your exposition may have the great success which always should accompany efforts so earnest, so able and so magnificent and wonderful in results as are those made by the officials of the exposition and the citizens of Buffalo. I thank you for your attention and I again wish you great success."

PRESIDENT MILBURN.

Gov. Nash's brief speech was applauded enthusiastically.

President John G. Milburn then accepted the Ohio Building in behalf of the Exposition. He referred earnestly to the very cordial encouragement and effective co-operation which had been given to the Pan-American by the State of Ohio from the inception of the exposition project. He assured the Ohioans that their assistance and their presence on their day was greatly appreciated. It was only through such sympathy and co-operation as had been extended by Ohio that the great purpose of the Pan-American, the making better known to the people of South and Central America of our people, and the making of them better known to the people of this country, the bringing together of the Americas, could be accomplished.

"Those of us engaged in this work," said Mr. Milburn, in conclusion, "are sincerely grateful and the day will never come when we will forget how Ohio stood by us and helped us to accomplish what we have done."

OHIO THE FIRST CHILD OF THE NORTHWEST.

The Hon. Charles W. Baker of Cincinnati followed with an eloquent address upon the topic, "Ohio, the First Child of the Northwest." He said:

"The fair fame of Ohio, as you may have observed, does not rest merely upon the natural productions of her soil or the very many and versatile results of her skill and labor.

"Ohio produces men — men of action. Men who can work and plan. Men who can talk and think and fight; and it would hardly be a full and fair description did I not add, men who can and do hold office

"It has been so ever since Ohio became a State, nearly one hundred years ago; for Ohio was not long in getting into the Union after it was once well started, and she has had a great deal to do and say about things ever since.

"Virginia used to be called the Mother of Presidents. Virginia will have to be content with the title of grandmother now, for the other distinction has passed from her. Ohio has assumed it.

"Nor are we without hope that the years of the future will still justify this distinguished and distinguishing title.

"It is said at home that we have several very able men on both sides who look not upon the mention of their names in connection with the Ohio succession reproachfully.

"Did not the Twelfth Amendment forbid, we might furnish both the President and Vice President.

"That inhibition is not nearly so forbidding that I should indulge in such suggestion, however, as is the preamble of the Constitution, which says that one of its objects is to 'insure domestic tranquillity.' There would be no domestic tranquillity in Ohio, I mean constitutional domestic tranquillity, with such a ticket. The most amiable of hopes would not underwrite such an insurance.

"In New York you are said to have similar congestion and plethora. Speaking as an Ohioan, I beg to say to you of New York, that when the long roll is called and counted, the Ohio man will be in the first place, and you may have the second only because the Constitution says we cannot have them both.

"But, ladies and gentlemen, there are a great many persons in Ohio who do not hold office, and, although they may be perfectly willing to do so, are not particularly concerned about it as the chief end of life.

"They are represented in the material things you see about you, that in this exposition stand for Ohio's industries and endeavor.

"Ohio was the first fruits of the Ordinance of 1787. That ordinance was not merely the political creation of a Congress enactment, but a solemn perpetual covenant between the thirteen Colonies and the people of the Northwestern Territory, that slavery and involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited within its borders, and, in its own language, 'religion, morality and education being essential to good government and the happiness of mankind should forever be encouraged.'

"This vast Northwest, that in the ambiguous text of the treaty ceding it, extended 'up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest,' radiated between the Ohio River and the lakes, to the Mississippi, and was destined within fifty years to form six great States, of which Ohio was the first, as she was the fourth after the thirteen Colonies, to be admitted into the Federal Union.

"She was settled by a commingling of people, a part entering from the Northeast, type and descendant of the best Puritan blood of New England, the other strain of migration entering from the South, bringing the warm and chivalrous traits and characteristics of the cavalier, whose ancestors had peopled Maryland and Virginia, while flung across her central border as if to reinforce and fuse these varied elements, New York and Pennsylvania lent Dutch and Huguenot, producing in the amalgamation as great and strong and mighty a race of people as ever trod the globe.

"It is not surprising that Ohio, like some central, shining sun, scattering light and heat and life, has sent in drifts and masses westward and north and south and back again and eastward, men and women who have won distinction in every field of opportunity and endeavor. She has given Governors and Senators to other States, and judges and statesmen to supreme courts and national assemblies. Her soil has been the birthplace of Presidents whom other States have presented to the Nation, as her own sons have been lifted to that high office by the suffrage of their countrymen. She consecrated the brain and blood and bodies of 500,000 sons to God and glory to preserve the Union, as she gave the great commanders of that heroic struggle to country and to history.

"Her artisans and mechanics have filled the earth with implements and evidence of skill and genius. They invent them and then teach mankind to build, as well as use, them.

"Her wood and iron-working machinery fills the markets of Russia and the East. She sells her oil to India. Her wagons trek the dusty roads of Africa, as her plows and reapers plant and gather the harvests of Australia.

"Go into any field of industry the wide world over, and on the simplest, as well as upon the most intricate and delicate machinery utilized, you will find the stamp of Ohio.

"Nature intended it should be so. Her valleys are beautiful and prolific, the fairest the sun e'er shone upon; redolent with the fragrance of the wild grape and cherry that still bloom and blossom beside cultivated orchards, and green and yellow with wheat and cornfields nodding in the sunshine, keeping time to the music of the harvest. The Miamis, fertile and picturesque, stretch away into the Scioto and Muskingum, and these melt again into the Hocking, the Mahoning and the Tuscarawas, that in turn touch the Cuyahoga and the old black swamp, fountain-head of the Sandusky and the Maumee.

"Ohio is still among the first of all States in the production of wheat and corn and other cereals, in grapes and fruit, in tobacco, flax and hemp; in cattle and sheep, in hogs and horses, in every product of the soil, Ohio is Arcadian. She is like some vast cornucopia filled to the overflow with abundant harvests.

"Her hills, like her valleys, are prodigal in natural resources. Not Alpine in height, but Apennine in beauty; full of coal and lime and iron, of building stone and granite. They need but labor and the torch to start the smoking furnaces that pour out steel and iron in endless torrent; to pile mountain high the diamonds that are black that, put to crucible, with eager fire drive wheels and shafts and gearings that crown human industry and give light and heat and fuel; to rear aloft architrave and column upon foundations of stately edifices and business blocks.

"We bore beneath the wheat and corn, and oil and gas and salt bubble and burst surfaceward.

"Yonder upon the eastern border is a clay deposit that, aside from tile and brick, deftly fashioned in the potter's hands, makes famous Ohio's potteries.

"In our own city of Cincinnati the genius of a gifted Ohio woman fashioned wares that in exquisiteness of blended color, fused and welded, and in fineness of texture and finish, make Rookwood as famous and as artistic the world over as Wedgwood, Majolica or Delft.

"Ohio stands the great connecting Isthmian way between all the States. It was so of old, when the national pike joined the West to the East. It is now, when the slow locomotion of wagon and stage coach has given way to the iron horse speeding upon steel rails.

"All continental lines of travel cross her territory. Converging as they come from eastern terminals, they traverse Ohio upon closely drawn and almost parallel lines, and then diverging like loosened tangents, they spread abroad from Texas to Oregon. All States pay tribute to us. We levy tax on traffic and gather toll from trade as the commerce of the world crosses our borders. Little wonder is it that men go forth from Ohio, carrying the dear old State in their heart of hearts. Little wonder is it that in every city of any size in this Union, and in many, very many smaller towns, there are Ohio societies that foster and minister to the love and pride they bear her memory and her greatness.

"But I must not prolong this recital.

"New York may call herself the Empire State; Ohio is imperial, too.

"Pennsylvania may style herself the Keystone State; Ohio is keystone and arch.

"Alabama's name means 'Here we rest;' but Ohio is the abiding place of all that stands for life, for home, for hope, for happiness.

"Those of us who were born on her soil, together with her adopted sons and daughters, voice that triumphant outcry of devotion: 'Thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God. The Lord do so to me and more if aught but death part thee and me.'

Mrs. Bishop sang again. Her glorious voice was heard first in Handel's "I Know That My Redeemer Liveth" and then in "Comin' Thro' the Rye."

"THESE ARE MY JEWELS."

Hon. Emmett Thompkins, Congressman-elect from the 12th Ohio District (Columbus) delivered an address replete with most interesting historical and statistical information:

"Out of the days devoted to the exposition of the arts and the products of the two Americas, this one is dedicated to Ohio, in order that we, her citizens, should have special opportunity to make manifest her worth to others and among ourselves to rejoice over her achievements and her status, and to hopefully contemplate, and find inspiration for, the future. Ohio is a great State. One of the greatest of all the States. That may sound like vanity and boastfulness. It is not. I have heard many who never lived there, but who knew what they were talking about, say the same thing. If such others so speak, why should it be vanity or boastfulness for me to speak as they do? There are many reasons for this conceded greatness, and reasons readily found and easily understood.

"Location has had much to do in bringing about her present condition. It secured for her that sturdy and healthy pioneer population which was richly capable of laying the civic and industrial foundations of the commonwealth and the later population, descendant from these pioneers or admitted from other places, which has builded wisely and well the superstructure now resting so firmly and gracefully upon these foundations.

"Many of the New Englanders at the close of the Revolution and the establishment of the Union were content to stop where they were and seek no further. The trials of the long struggle for independence had wearried them, and the magnitude of their achievements filled their cups, so that they neither sought nor desired acquisition of territory or change in conditions. Indeed, many of them believed and urged that when the thirteen Colonies passed into the Union under the Constitution the ultimate had been attained; that expansion of territory or migration of the inhabitants to outside fields were neither tolerated nor contemplated by the instrument and the spirit of the federation; that the Appalachian range was the western boundary for all time, and that whatever lay beyond should be the uninvaded home of the Indian and the undisturbed lair of the wild beast. In short, they denied the right and propriety of growth or change. Even to this day there

are a few choice spirits who appear to think the same way, but happily for the country, they are growing fewer.

"To the contrary, there were many New Englanders of other moods, notions and spirit. They looked across the lines marking the narrow geographical area of the original Union. They were active, progressive, expansive. They had climbed to the top of the Alleghenies and from this lofty crest beheld the mighty West. They saw the vast and unexplored forests, the undulating plains, the sweeping rivers, the plunging waterfalls and curling brooks, the fertile valleys and ore-filled hills, the changing skies and moving seasons lying between them and the western line of the continent, and their souls were filled with ambition and thrilled with hope. These people organized different land companies, one distinctly known as the Ohio Company, and receiving large grants at low prices and much encouragement from the general government, they moved away from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, sturdy men and women they were, and crossed the mountains, threaded their way through unmarked forests and floated upon the bosom of great rivers and their tributaries to stop at last within the territory of what is now the State of Ohio. They stopped because they had found that which they sought. These New Englanders settled principally in the northeastern part and obtained lands which are still called the "Western Reserve," and others in the southeastern part upon the shares allotted by the Ohio Company obtained by it from the United States. About the time of this invasion by the New Englanders, another movement looking to the formation of Ohio had taken place. That vast area stretching from Kentucky to the British Possessions had been ceded by the State of Virginia and constituted what is known as the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio River." This passed under civil control in 1788, when Arthur St. Clair was inaugurated governor thereover and upon this event great interest was aroused and Virginians, who were always expansionists, left their native heaths and moving to the Northwest peopled the Symmes Purchase and the Virginia Military Survey, where Chillicothe, our first State capital, is located.

"By these we see that the pioneers of Ohio, the first settlers, they who laid the sills, who gave form and quality to our commonwealth, were the sons and daughters of sturdy, conservative and wise New England, and the sons and daughters of the brave, powerful and dashing Virginia. Could origin have come from richer or more fruitful source? Could any territory have been opened and settled by better stock? Ohio was the chosen ground of these adventurous and progressive pioneers because she lay in their path. The early descendants of these New Englanders and Virginians, leaving the ancestral cabins and seeking other fields, in time covered the whole territory, and thus meeting and mingling they combined the best qualities of the different

sections. Marriages between them were common, and as a result there is not a day in the year nor a place in Ohio when and where you can not find some person whose ancestors upon one side were from New England and upon the other from Virginia.

"New England and Virginia! The leaders in the American Revolution, the authors of the Declaration of Independence, the vigorous advocates of the constitutional prohibition of slavery and the establishment of the equality of all men before the law; ambitious, alert, progressive, wise and patriotic they mingled their blood, brawn and brains upon the waiting and fecund soil of Ohio.

"The example set by these pioneers became effective and many others left the East and Southeast to make their homes in the new and wondrous land. Some, no doubt, had fixed their destination farther, others no farther, but be that as it might have been, when the immigrant reached Ohio he was attracted by her inducements, and there he stopped and pitched his tent. Ohio is and always has been the gateway between the East and the farther West. All immigrants and travelers passing from one region to the other cross or touch her borders. The early emigrant with his yoke of oxen, the later with his horses and "Quaker" wagon, and the still later riding in the swiftly moving steam-drawn car, seeking the "land of the setting sun," had to see Ohio, and seeing her was caught by her charms and lingered with her.

"By reason of our location, so it appears, we have had opportunity to arrest and hold the immigrant, domestic and foreign, and as a result our population is composed of the best order of Americans and the best classes of foreigners and their descendants, and all combine to give us a citizenship unsurpassed in quality and in character.

"While location has had much to do in bringing about the present condition of Ohio, there are other reasons to be considered, as supplementary to and co-operative with location, and without which location would have availed but little, and one is the material richness of the State. No other like amount of surface in the whole Union contains such variety of soil, forest and fruit trees, crops and stock, and equal opportunity for profitable industrial enterprises.

"Old as she is, compared with other States, Ohio still has nearly 3,000,000 acres of timber-land, and among the trees growing thereon can be found the oak, hickory, beech, poplar, sycamore, ash, chestnut, cedar, elm and walnut, all sound and useful, and besides, not to more than mention them, the dogwood, whose blossoms warn the farmer that corn planting time has come, and the buckeye whose trunk made good sugar-water troughs and a cradle for the baby in the early days, and whose nuts furnished the nickname for our State.

"Of fruits there are raised all kinds, except such as grow only in tropical climates, and if we have many summers like the present I

would not be surprised to see plantations of bananas, oranges and cocoanuts growing there. In the year 1899, there were 315,486 acres of apple trees yielding 11,077,213 bushels; 30,309 acres of peach trees yielding 146,636 bushels, and 3,178 acres of pear trees yielding 73,236 bushels. In all, 348,973 acres of apple, peach and pear orchards yielding in the aggregate 11,297,083 bushels of fruit, and 1899 was a bad year, too. There are not included in the official record the number of acres or the yield of plums, apricots, cherries and quinces. By the way, and I came near overlooking them, there are grapes growing in Ohio — all kinds. In 1899 there were 13,629 acres of vineyards, which produced 31,127,743 pounds of this luscious fruit, out of which 489,060 gallons of wine were pressed and the balance were consumed by us, the small boy, the birds and bees and yellow jackets.

"Compared to the sweeping and far-reaching prairies and plains of the distant West, Ohio can not be called a distinctly farming district, yet in 1899 out of her 19,471,926 acres owned and taxed, 10,239,866 acres were under cultivation, and 5,849,010 acres in pasture, and the balance was forest and other land. Upon that acreage which was devoted to farming and pasture, there were owned in stock and produced in crops in that year 551,923 horses; 1,253,945 head of cattle and milk cows; 1,339,113 hogs, and 2,176,716 head of sheep, from which were clipped 13,017,052 pounds of good wool.

"There were harvested 41,469,703 bushels of wheat; 185,710 bushels of rye; 173,206 bushels of buckwheat; 33,296,912 bushels of oats; 751,633 bushels of barley; 1,972,059 tons of hay and 749,225 tons of clover; and there were dug 9,203,633 bushels of Irish potatoes, and husked 111,159,200 bushels of corn. There were gathered 94,013 bushels of sweet potatoes; 669,475 pounds of broom corn (we sweep a good deal), and 861,809 bushels of odoriferous onions. Of sweets there were not a few, for there were yielded 250,245 gallons of sorghum molasses; 983,667 gallons of maple syrup, and the busy bees gave us 1,052,616 pounds of honey.

"But these are not all that came from our farms that year, and it was not a highly productive year, either. The dairies gave us for the market 40,590,560 gallons of milk; 5,861,896 pounds of butter and 15,293,536 pounds of cheese. How many pounds of butter and cheese and how many gallons of milk were consumed at home, there is no method of ascertaining.

"The poultry yards that year presented and had officially recorded 60,376,116 dozen of eggs, and, no doubt, as many dozen escaped the eye of the statistician. These statements when assembled challenge for a moment our credulity and stagger the comprehension, but they are true; and all is not told, because, no doubt, many of the products of the farm have never been reported.

"Great as are the agricultural and farming interests in Ohio, when the soil so used is appraised for taxation at $599,678,045, there should be added for our consideration before we can have an accurate notion of what the worth of her ground is, the valuation of lots and lands lying within towns and cities. Such lots and lands are appraised for taxation at $674,526,676. And do not forget that real estate, as a rule, is appraised for taxation at but 60 per cent. of its true value. Therefore, it is fair to assume that the total value of real estate in Ohio in 1900 was $2,125,672,860. Thus it is seen that mother earth, from whose bosom we came and to whose eternal embrace we must return, has been wondrously generous to us and to our neighbors. She is man's best and most steadfast friend. Let us not abuse or neglect her. Let us cherish and nourish her virtues, so that everywhere within our borders she shall wear a golden crown and be clothed in the richest and fruitfullest raiment.

"I trust that figures have not become tiresome. Before we can comprehend the material wealth of our State it is necessary to consider them; and to them already given must be annexed a few more, and I crave your indulgence.

"One of the most important factors in the wealth of a nation or of a state is the employment of labor. The larger portion of the male population of a district is devoted to manual toil. The 'hewers of wood and carriers of water' constitute, probably, four-fifths of that population, counting all departments; and it is absolutely essential to the welfare of the state that these men be engaged in fairly and justly remunerative work, because when labor is prosperous and contented then, and only then, all is well. It is to be regretted that we have no law compelling manufacturers to report to the several executive departments of the government the number of persons employed, their wages, and the amount of capital invested in their enterprises, together with the products thereof. The statistics at hand for 1900 are such as have been derived from voluntary reports and by such inspection as our officials had the time to make. In the year 1899 there were inspected 3,782 shops and factories, and the factories and shops reporting to the Commissioner of Labor Statistics were 2,362, employing 149,388 persons, to whom were paid $67,555,815.29 in wages. The amount invested in these establishments was $256,453,091, and the value of the goods manufactured $305,061,085. The steel industries reporting to the same department were 71, with a capitalization of $17,895,472, employing 21,314 hands, paying them $12,673,188 in wages and producing $72,708,924 in goods. This report seems meagre, indeed, when we realize that the chattel wealth of the State exceeds one billion of dollars, and that in iron alone there were blasted and sold on the market in one year 13,620,700 tons of pig iron.

"The coal business cuts an important figure. Of the 88 counties in the State, 30 are coal producing. In 1899 there were 1,113 mines

operated; 28,028 persons employed, price of mining 66 cents per ton, and 15,908,934 tons of coal were dug from the mines and sold on the market. There is but one other State in the Union that can equal this showing.

"Railroading demands notice. Railroads are the great developers and civilizers. They open the country and carry prosperity and education along with passengers and freight. Show me a State with but few railroads and I will show you one where the people are ignorant and lazy, and where the thistle and the briar reign undisturbed. But show me a State with many such roads and I will show you one where the people are intelligent and thrifty and where the land yields its utmost.

"In the year 1900 there were 87 companies operating steam railroads in the State of Ohio, with 13,254 miles of track therein; with $306,904,600 of capital stock, paying for that year $6,367,746.04 in dividends, using equipment costing $573,674,616.86, earning for their shareholders $86,049,117.88, employing 67,834 persons, distributing in salaries and wages $37,190,857, and carrying 27,364,106 passengers and 123,639,177 tons of freight, and turned into the public treasury $2,187,232 by way of taxes on property, and $383,218 more by way of exactions for the mere privilege of doing business therein. All in the State of Ohio and all in one year.

"Within the last few years a 'new Richmond' has entered the field. It is the interurban railroad, operated by electricity. In every direction these lines are reaching out and binding the country with the town, and town with town, in quick communication. How many miles there are already constructed I can not tell, because such companies are not yet under the supervision of the Commissioner of Railroads, but the record shows that 33 new companies were organized last year with capital aggregating $10,352,000, and more are to follow.

"Banking has an important place. In the year just named we had 259 National banks, with total assets of $62,128,039, and State banks and Savings societies, with valuation for taxation amounting to $18,558,494. And it is fair to assume, although there is no way of finding out exactly, that the deposits in these various banks and private banks not reported, amounted to a billion dollars.

"So much for the material wealth of Ohio. That wealth which has form, substance, weight and lasting qualities, but with all these she would be 'poor as winter' if there was not something besides. That something can be supplied from social, moral and mental conditions. It requires the educated mind, good morals and pure social qualities to get the best out of material things. Have the people of Ohio such minds, morals and social qualities? 'By their fruits ye shall judge them.' In the year 1900 there were organized 317 benevolent and other social corporations, and 98 churches, and 22 colleges and libraries. It can not be

ascertained with exactness how many churches, schools and libraries there are in Ohio, but they are on every hand. We have four universities sustained by the public funds, and there must be more than 20 private colleges. The school-houses are always in sight, and the State appropriated $1,764,939 last year for their support, and there is not a boy or a girl in all Ohio under 16 years of age who is not compelled by law to go to school, and none so poor that he or she can not have books and other necessaries, because the State will furnish them when there is any need.

"'Thereby abideth faith, hope and charity, but the greatest of these is charity.' No State is kinder to or more thoughtful of her unfortunates and afflicted than Ohio is. She has seven hospitals where the sick in mind find care and comfort, and last year she gave $1,504,000 for their support. The deaf mutes, who can not voice their gratitude nor hear the laughter of their playmates, are not left in ignorance; nor are the blind from whose minds the glorious shapes and colorings of the earth are shut out, suffered to remain in total darkness, for Ohio has erected a noble institution of learning for each of them and appropriated last year for the support of the former $145,000 and to the latter $85,000,

"To him who bore the heat of battle in his country's cause and is now old and infirm, his State extends a generous hand and leads him to a beautiful Soldiers' Home at Sandusky, where with his old comrades in arms he can pass his closing days in comfort and in honor.

"Nor are the orphans of such men forgotten, because at Xenia there has been established a large, comfortable and even magnificent home for the orphans of soldiers and sailors. Besides these, there are 57 children's homes supported by taxation, and in every county and in every city there may be found hospitals, nurseries, homes and retreats for the infirm and the tender. Glorious State, none is more charitable to and thoughtful of her unhappy ones.

"But these mentioned are not all. There are other sources from which she draws her greatness. Ohio was organized as a State on the 29th day of November, 1802. She then had a population of 45,365, as determined by the census of 1800. By the last census this population had grown to 4,157,545, which is a million more than inhabited all the colonies when they struck for freedom. This population, mighty as it is, is tranquil, peaceful, and law-abiding. This condition rests upon the deep, underlying and all-pervading spirit of patriotism. The love of country — divine — eternal — which engenders respect for and obedience to law and public order. It glowed in the embers upon the first settler's hearth; it was heard in the ring of the ax as the pioneer sunk it deep in the trunk of the shuddering oak; in the song he sang as he thrust the plowshare into the teeming earth; in the stories he told when night shut down, and with his children they sat in the cabin and read

each other's faces by the light of the flickering knot; and from him, fastening itself with unyielding hold upon each generation, through all the intervening years with their vicissitudes, trials and tests, untarnished and undiminished and only stronger, purer and sweeter, this spirit of patriotism has come to us and is with us this day.

"Ohio has sent her sons to every battlefield where the liberty of men or the relief of the oppressed was at issue. In the great Civil War where liberty and the Union were at stake, she sent 310,654 volunteers to the front. These brave sons were at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, the March to the Sea, at Nashville, at Chattanooga and at every spot where the stars and stripes fluttered and the cannon thundered. And under countless heaps of earth, all over the land of the South, by the side of the weaving pine, beneath the mountain's frowning top, at the riffled brook, by the lily-covered pond, they are sleeping on and on, waiting for the final trump which shall marshal them for the Grand Review before the Throne on High.

"What State in that mighty struggle equalled her in the commanders furnished? Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, McPherson and the McCooks! Where can their peers be found? The very sounding of their names starts the war spirit and urges us to victorious combat. Their fame will live as long as men inhabit the earth, and their praises will be spoken wherever tongues articulate.

"In the late War with Spain, where the relief of the oppressed was all we sought, Ohio paid her full share. Ten regiments marched forth from the farm, the shop, the store and the office. Some were at Porto Rico, some at Santiago, and the others chafing under the restraints of the camp were all anxious to fire a shot. The first fully equipped and ready for battle volunteer regiment in the United States to reach the camp of mobilization was the First Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which pitched its tents at Chickamauga.

"Not in war alone has Ohio acquired fame and honor. Her sons have left their deep impress in all the higher walks; in oratory, statesmanship, finance, at the bar, in the pulpit, and in art and letters. Who could surpass the versatile Corwin, the scholarly and magnetic Garfield, the rugged and convincing Wade, the edifying and classical Cox, when listening thousands, rapt and eager, broke into echoing applause? Whence came wiser statesman than Harrison, Hayes, Stanton and Brough; greater financiers than Chase, Sherman, and the Rockefellers; greater lawyers than Peter Hitchcock, the elder Ewing, Rufus P. Ranney, Matthews, Swayne and Waite, and greater preachers than Ames and Simpson? In the presidential chair Ohio has placed the two Harrisons, Grant, Hayes, Garfield and McKinley; in the cabinet, Meigs, McLean, Corwin, Stanberry, Ewing, Taft, Dennison, Stanton, Chase, Sherman, Foster, Day, Hay, Delano and Cox; on the Supreme bench of

the United States, Chief Justices Chase and Waite, and Associate Justices Swayne and Matthews — distinguished all. To art she gave Powers and his chisel, and to letters, Howell and Reid.

"To-day her sons are dwelling in every clime and every State and territory in the Nation, sent thither to expend the strength and utilize the genius drawn from their native soil, and they are doing it. Go where you may — no matter how remote the spot — there you will find the Ohio man and find him counting for something. In the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives her sons are found speaking for other and younger States; in State offices throughout the West, North and Southwest, Ohio "boys" are filling places of the highest responsibility, doing honor to themselves and to their native State. Way over in the Philippines, in our new possessions, with thousands of leagues on sea and land between him and his home, Ohio's noble son was, on the 125th anniversary of the Declaratoin of American Independence, inaugurated as first civil governor of the Archipelago. There in the Orient, among the oppressed and the ignorant, amid the gloom of four hundred years of unrelenting tyranny, the torch of enlightenment, civilization and liberty was raised by the strong, kind and just hand of William H. Taft, to go down in darkness no more forever.

"To the highest legislative body in the Union now, as in the past, we make contribution to the ablest, most prominent and most effective of its membership, from both the leading parties. And with all these, ample in his strength, whose every artery is filled with romping blood and every fibre thrilling with vitality; in the noonday of his accomplished manhood, trained and well poised, Ohio has given to our country and to the world,. one of the three greatest of all presidents, that profound statesman, superb soldier and gentle Christian, William McKinley.

"I have stated some but not all the reasons for Ohio's greatness. It may be proper to add that her financial integrity has never been questioned from the days of "wildcat" banking to the gold standard, and her credit is so good that she can borrow all the money needed at 3 per cent. Her total State debt is but $450,000, bearing that rate of interest. More than half of this will be paid next year, and the balance one year later. So that by this day in 1903 Ohio will not owe one cent. It is fair to mention another thing. Critics and reviewers say that all Ohio men are politicians, and say, besides, that politicians are dishonest. They may be half right. We may be all politicians, but the truth is that while our State officials receive smaller salaries than are paid in States not so large or so rich, but one breath of scandal or formal charge of crime against State officials has ever stained her record in all her life. They are, have been, and will be honest.

"And now the tale is told, and poorly told. More and better things could be said and better said. The field is a fruitful one and large.

More than a century of civilization and nearly a hundred years of statehood make a long stretch of time and offer unaccounted opportunities for growth and development, and these have not been neglected. 'Tis a mighty transition from the cabin of the pioneer to the mansion of the day; and this evolution hath been wrought slowly, steadily, and securely. The mind leaps the intervening years since the smoke of the lonely fire curled through the gloomy forest and pauses to contemplate the wondrous work of time and its generations of men. We proudly ponder over what has been accomplished and from the noble fabrics now erected catch hope and inspiration. Let us go on waxing stronger, richer, and better; and here and now dedicate our lives and aspirations to the purpose of filling the years to come with achievements still greater than those which glorify the present."

SENATOR MARCUS A. HANNA.

Senator Marcus A. Hanna was the last speaker and he received an ovation. The plaudits that greeted him surpassed the welcome accorded any other figure of the day. The genial and good-natured Senator was in "fine feather" and entered most heartily into the spirit of the occasion. His beaming features expanded in a merry smile as he waited for an opportunity to be heard. He spoke "off-hand" in his characteristic terse and forceful manner.

"I presume I would please this audience," said Senator Hanna, "after Mr. Tompkins's lengthy and able speech, by simply adding bully for Ohio and let it go at that. (Laughter.) I want to say a word about this exposition and its practical results, however, even at the expense of your patience. On behalf of all Ohio, I want to thank the President of the Pan-American Exposition Company, the Mayor of Buffalo, the citizens who conceived the idea, and the Board of Directors who carried it out, for making the exposition a success. I was here at the ceremonies on Dedication Day. When I returned to Cleveland, it having been advertised that I was here, I was asked what I thought of the exposition. Well, I had been here only one day — only one day, remember — and I replied that you had a very nice Midway. (Laughter and cheers.)

"My text to-day is 'The Commercial Relations of the American Continent,' and we must not lose sight of the important, in contemplation of the purely pleasureable. We must not lose sight of the business side of the exposition, while 'flying the goose.' Coming at a time when the commercial interests of the American people are becoming awakened to the needs of the hour, coming at a time when the United States has first taken its place in the front rank of commercial supremacy, the Pan-

American Exposition is destined to do much good. At this time, the United States, the big brother, stands ready and willing to give its fostering care to its sister republics in the South and Central Americas, and all that is needed to result in a growing trade between them is some point of contact."

Senator Hanna referred to the fact that the producing capacity of the United States has exceeded the capacity of the country to consume its own product. The country must look for new markets. The country has neglected its opportunity in the Western Hemisphere. This is the chance. This exposition gives the United States an opportunity to improve its relations with South America. At the exposition, this country meets South America as business men on change.

Senator Hanna quoted figures to show that during the last decade relations with South America, instead of increasing, had gone back. Why? For the want of contact.

"You can't do business with a country 100 miles away unless you can establish some point of contact. To transact business, you must have means of communication. Under present conditions, and I am not advocating a merchant marine for political reasons, our goods must be shipped to South America on foreign bottoms, going first to Europe and from there carried to the point of destination on some regular line of steamships.

"At this Pan American Exposition we should say to our friends from South America, join with us in the establishing of regular steamship lines between our ports and yours, join with us in the establishment of regular ports of entry, join with us in the establishment of banks for exchange where credit can be given so that we will have the ambition to trade with you and good will come to us both. We should ask ourselves whether it is fair to neglect this opportunity to trade with South America. We consume what they raise. There is a ready market there for our goods. What we need is the machinery of trade that I have referred to. Whenever we have the contact, we have been able to secure the trade. (Applause.) You can no more stay the commercial progress of the United States than you can stem the current of the mighty Niagara, flowing past your doors. Let this Pan-American Exposition mark the beginning of the movement when the people of the United States shall see to it that nothing shall stand between the strengthening of relations, political, social, commercial and friendly, between the United States and the South American countries."

Prolonged applause followed the close of the Senator's stirring and patriotic address.

OTHER FESTIVITIES.

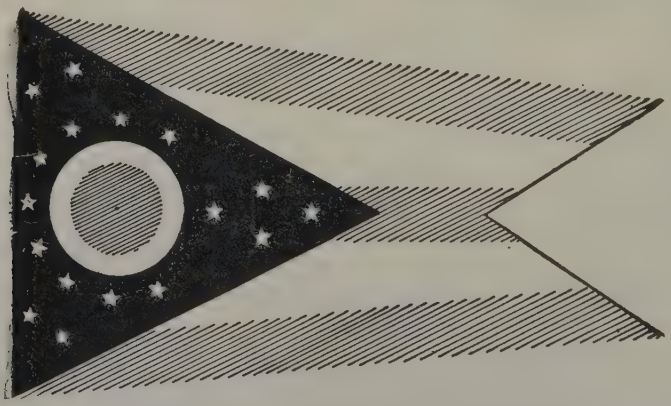
The distinguished guests of the Ohio party were tendered a luncheon at the Stadium, after the services in the Temple of Music. There were present at the table, Governor George K. Nash; Senator M. A. Hanna; Hon. John G. Milburn, President of the Pan-American Exposition; Hon. William I. Buchanan, Director-General of the Exposition; Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, Ex-Secretary of State; Hon. W. S. McKinnon, Chairman Ohio Pan-American Commissioners, and Mrs. W. S. McKinnon; C. L. Swain, Secretary Ohio Commission, and Mrs. C. L. Swain; Hon. S. L. Patterson, member Ohio Commission; Hon. John A. Shauck, Supreme Court of Ohio and Miss Helen Shauck; Hon. Frank H. Baird, Director Pan-American Exposition; Col. C. Barton Adams, Assistant Adjutant General (Ohio); General Edmund G. Brush, Surgeon General; Colonels Charles A. Craighead, William H. Morgan, Jerome S. Burrows, Melville M. Gillette, Aides-de-Camp on the Governor's staff; Captain William Winder, U. S. Navy; Lieut.-Com. William E. Wirt, Lieut. Arthur Devale, Lieut. Frank R. Seman, and Ensigns Nelson H. Young and George F. Glass, Ohio Naval Reserve; Lieut. Col. Charles C. Weybrecht, Majors Ammon B. Critchfield, Frederick S. Marquis and Frank C. Lee and Capt. Frank C. Gerlach of the 8th O. V. I.; Hon. L. C. Laylin, Secretary of State and Mrs. Laylin; Hon. Emmett Tompkins, Congressman, 12th Ohio District; Hon. C. W. Dick, Congressman, 20th Ohio District; Hon. John Eisenmann, Architect Ohio Building; Hon. A. I. Voris, State Insurance Commissioner; Miss Georgia Hopley and Mrs. Andrew Squires, Ohio Lady Commissioners to the Exposition; Mrs. Genevra Johnston-Bishop; Judge U. L. Marvin; Mr. Amor Sharp; Mr. Andrew Squires; John H. Scatcherd; Mr. H. M. Shellhamer; Hon. E. O. Randall, Secretary State Archæological and Historical Society and others.

There were no formal speeches but "after the Walnuts and the Wine" Senator Patterson arose and in a few fitting words in

behalf of the Ohio Commission presented Governor Nash, as a souvenir of the occasion, a beautiful silk flag of the State of Ohio.

Mr. C. L. Swain, on behalf of the Ohio Commission, made a similar presentation to Mr. Milburn, President of the Exposition. This flag was designed by Mr. John Eisenmann, architect of the Ohio Building, and was adopted by the Ohio Commission. It is proposed to ask the forthcoming legislature to approve it as the flag of the State.

The triangles formed by the main lines of the flag represent the hills and valleys as typified in the state seal and the stripes the roads and waterways. The stars, indicating the 13 original states of the Union, are grouped about the circle which represents the original northwest territory and that Ohio was the seventeenth state admitted into the Union is shown by adding four more stars. The white circle with its red center not only represents the initial letter of



FLAG OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

Ohio, but is suggestive of its being the "Buckeye State." The proportions and symmetry of the flag are such that it may be shown in any position without affecting its symbolism.

At 7 P. M., Governor Nash, Senator Hanna, Director General Buchanan and a number of gentlemen in the Ohio party, includ-

ing the Ohio Pan-American Commissioners, were the guests of Hon. Frank H. Baird at dinner at the Tower Restaurant. At the same hour in the Ohio Building were held reunions by the Kenyon College graduates on the grounds and by the alumni of Ohio Wesleyan University. Following the dinner at the Tower, Governor Nash and escort witnessed the dress parade by the "President's Own" regiment and later the electrical illumination from the esplanada. The party then returned to the Ohio Building where they enjoyed the elaborate fire works display, also making a short visit to the Park Lake front while the pyrotechnic display was in progress. At 9.30 was held a general reception at the Ohio Building, at which the Commissioners acted as hosts and mesdames McKinnon and Swain and Miss Georgia Hopley as hostesses. A large number of Ohio people were present, including not only the distinguished Ohioans, but also many of the foreign Pan-American Commissioners. It was the most successful social function that has thus far been held at the Exposition. Certainly Ohio was handsomely treated at the Pan-American and no less certainly did Ohio make a favorable impression upon the splendid Exposition.

COLONEL THOMAS CRESAP.*

BY MRS. MARY LOUISE CRESAP STEVENSON.

To write the history of Colonel Thomas Cresap is to write the Colonial History of Maryland and Virginia and more or less of Ohio. To recount the story of these colonies is, to tell the story of the Revolution.

The rehearsal of that noble struggle would involve much of the history of the great powers of Europe and you might conclude, we were like Tennyson's brook, and would 'go on forever.' Therefore, we will try to give you only a snap shot at the life and times of our hero. We will give you items here and there, and leave you to develop the composite picture.

We believe, that when William the Norman invaded England, he found the family of our hero on the ground. His characteristics were essentially of the sturdy, faithful, "Cedric, the Saxon" type! His family was ever loyal to country and flag.

Kings came and went, and the days of Edward III and the Black Prince arrived. The British Lion was just the same, then as now, only at that time, it was France, instead of South Africa he was reaching for. The day of the famous "Battle of Cressy" (1346) dawned, when Philip of Valois had 100,000 soldiers and the victorious English only 30,000. Among these, it is said, was the ancestor of our hero, Col. Cresap; and for great bravery on that renowned field his family name, whatever it may have previonsly been, for we cannot now definitely learn, was changed to "Cressy." In due course of evolution (there is nothing new under the sun, not even the doctrine of evolution) the name became "Cresap."

Notice the first characteristics we discern in the heredity of our hero, are loyalty and bravery. Loyalty to his country though she was reaching for the lilies of France and playing a

*This paper on the life of Thomas Cresap was read by Mrs. Stevenson, a double descendant of Colonel Cresap, at the Eluathan Scofield Reunion held at the residence of Mr. Frank Tallmadge, Columbus, Ohio, August 7, 1901. Mrs. Stevenson is a resident of Dresden, Ohio.—[ED.]

landgrab game. The family have been ready to fight "pro patria" ever since, and their coat of arms is a mailed head, and uplifted right arm; Head in Armor, brains and bravery.

Years rolled on; the glorious protectorate of Cromwell was over and Charles II, came to the throne in 1660. This was a Revolutionary epoch. A little boy came to a Manor house in Yorkshire about 1671, who was destined to outlive that merry monarch, and several of his successors viz. James II, William and Mary, Queen Anne, George I, George II and into the reign of George III, some 17 years. The Yorkshire boy proved to be a sturdy youth. James II oppressed the people — preparing for another Revolution, and many came to the Colonies to escape the religlious upheaval and the power of the Vatican. Among these we find our hero, Thomas Cresap, in the year 1686 — at the age of 15.

We have said those were stirring times and a Revolutionary epoch! Let us leave our hero, and glance at the times. In Cresap's day Louis XIV "Revoked the Edict of Nantes" and scattered the best families of France to Germany, England and our colonies! In Cresap's day, Louis XV said, "After us the deluge," and proceeded to prepare the way for the French Revolution, that awful flood which swept the throne of his great grandson Louis XVI out of existence! In Cresaps' day Peter the Great went to school in Holland and taught his people; revolutionizing Russia! In Cresap's day Peter's widow, Catherine, Empress of Russia, assisted Frederick the Great and the Emperor of Austria in the dismemberment of Poland, each nation picking up a piece, much as the European nations now are looking for curios — seeking rare bits of China! During his life the great Empress, Maria Theresa, settled the Revolution in her empire and secured the throne of her fathers. So we might continue with the revolution in Spain and the war of the Spanish succession and so on indefinitely.

But we return to our hero, Col. Cresap. He had just arrived in the Colonies and brought with him his bravery, love of country and loyalty. He settled in Maryland, and began to "grow up with the country. He became an Indian trader, like the Astors and some other notables. He married a wife (Hannah Johnson)

and astutely settled at Havre de Grace, thus having the rich valley of the Susquehanna and the fur-bearing wilderness on the one hand and the Chesapeake Bay on the other, ready to float his furs to market.

He had a sterling honesty, that made and kept friends. Daniel Dulany was his early and life-long friend. Col. Cresap's oldest son was named for this "Daniel" Dulany, and the many Daniels in the Cresap clan testify not only to the Colonel's faculty of faithfulness, but to the heredity of the quality. Once a friend always a friend. Charles Calvert, the *first Protestant* Lord Baltimore, but fifth of the title was Cresap's earnest friend through life, and the feeling was reciprocated. Col. Cresap also made friends with the Indians and they used frequently to visit in the early days at his house, and called him "Brother Cresap." He prospered at Havre de Grace and accumulated a large quantity of furs, which he shipped for England. Unfortunately, the French captured the ship and furs. Cresap must begin over. Nothing daunted, he went further into the wilderness, hoping for better fortune and quicker returns. He obtained a Maryland patent for 500 acres of land, up the Susquehanna, and built a stone house. Here he expected to reside. But, "the best laid plans of mice and men aft gang agley."

The Kings of England were exceedingly ignorant of the geography of this country. Much trouble and sore distress to the Colonist were the results of this ignorance. They suffered from "over-lapping grants." These were frequently given; we will speak only of the grants of Maryland and Pennsylvania. These "Grants" were full of high-sounding phrases — and the land granted was always worded — extending "West to the Pacific Ocean," so generous (?) were the kings, and so little did they know how far off the Pacific might be.

The original grant of *Maryland* had been *promised* to George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, by James I, but it was really given to Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, by Charles I, in 1632. The settlers were brought in 1645 by his brother, Leonard Calvert. The title to the Province was confirmed, after the restoration of the Stuarts, by Charles II, July 31st, 1661, to Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore (who was Col. Cresap's friend), and the

grant took in Maryland's present boundary and the whole of the 40th degree of latitude. This same monarch, "who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one," settled his indebtedness to William Penn, by issuing another grant to *him,* which included, a large amount of the territory already given to Lord Baltimore! What a just and liberal king! As Penn's grant was dated March 4th, 1681, or 20 years later than Lord Baltimore's, it does not require a "Philadelphia lawyer" nor an Ohio one either, to foresee the trouble and friction that would follow. Thomas Cresap's new stone house and his 500 acres of choice land, were situated up the Susquehanna (at Wright's Ferry, near the present town of Columbia, Penn.), and in the disputed territory claimed by the Penns.

Our hero naturally, and warmly, espoused the cause of his friend, Lord Baltimore. Certainly, to the unprejudiced and just eye of to-day, Lord B. had the prior and the correct claim. Cresap to his latest day, said — "If the son and successor of Lord Baltimore had pursued the proper course, Maryland would have been the richer, by a large strip of territory," perhaps one-third of Pennsylvania. Once when asked what he thought of Philadelphia? He answered promptly — "Why, it is the finest city in the State of Maryland."

While the Baltimores and Penns were settling their controversy, Cresap must be about the business of life. So at a great sacrifice of house, land and improvements, he went West as far as Antietam. There he again took out a patent for land of 1400 acres. He built another stone house, a kind of fort, inclosing a spring, for use in case of trouble with the savages. This he sold later to his friend, Daniel Dulany. Another friend Lord Baltimore persuaded him, then, to go to the western frontier. Scharf gives the reason: "This Thomas Cresap, usually called the "English Colonel," was a much trusted friend and agent of the fifth Lord Baltimore, and was sent to the west portion of the Province to guard his interests against Lord Fairfax. It was another case of overlapping grants. Thomas Cresap is named in the 'Treaty of the Six Nations,' with the Province of Maryland. (Dated June 30th, 1744.) The family of Colonel Cresap (writes the historian), was therefore one of the oldest

Maryland families, and from the time of the 'English Colonel' until the present, have occupied a *high* position of the first families of Maryland."

There, a little above the junction of the North and South branches of the Potomac, Col. Cresap made his permanent residence, and there he acquired an immense estate on both sides of the Potomac, a part of which still remains in the hands of his descendants. There he built his third stone house, rather fort, as he was then at the extreme outposts of civilization. "Here he renewed his acquaintance with the Washington family and soon became one of the most distinguished pioneers of the West; his name was a household word, not only among the whites, but also with the Indians." Scharf calls him "the guardian genius of the western frontier," and adds, "that the settlers built close around Cresap's fort and when alarmed, fled into it." Cresap called his place "Skipton," from his birthplace in Yorkshire.

CRESAP'S HOUSE IN 1770.

In person, Cresap was not large, but was firmly built, and possessed of great muscular strength. Jacobs says: "Had

Providence placed Col. Cresap at the head of an army, state or kingdom, he would have been a more conspicuous character, for he was *not* inferior to his contemporaries, Charles XII, of Sweden, in personal bravery, nor to Peter the Great, whom in many things he much resembled, viz: in coolness and fortitude and in that particular talent of learning wisdom from misfortune and levying a tax upon damage and loss, to raise him to future prosperity and success." Perhaps no trait in Colonel Cresap's character was more highly estimated than his benevolence and hospitality. In early times when hotels were few and indifferent, Col. Cresap's house was open to all respectable travelers, and they were made welcome to his table at Skipton or Oldtown, as it was called later. His delight was to give and receive useful information. This friendly disposition and warm hospitality was not limited to the whites. The Indians called on him in large parties, as they passed and re-passed North and South on their expeditions. He kept a very large kettle for their especial use and gave them a beef to kill for themselves, each time they called; for his liberality to them, they gave him the honorable title of the "Big Spoon." The Indian Guide Nemacolin, had so strong an affection for Col. Cresap and his family, that he spent much time there, and when he finally went away, he brought them his son, "George", to raise, and "Indian George" lived and died in the Colonel's family.

Col. Cresap had a vigorous and comprehensive mind, and was called to fill many public offices. He was County Surveyor of Prince George's County, which then included, also, Montgomery, Frederick, Washington, Allegheny and Garrett Counties. He frequently represented this district in the Provincial or State Assembly. And says Jacobs: "For clearness of understanding, soundness of judgment and firmness of mind, he was esteemed one of their best members." He served well his Province and Nation, and through his services his descendants may be "Colonial Dames;" or, "Sons and Daughters of the Revolution."

Colonel Cresap had a fine constitution, and lived to be 106 years old. When 70 years old, he made the voyage back to England. Those were not the days of Ocean Greyhounds. A voyage then, meant much physical endurance and inconvenience, in

1741, or 160 years ago. At the age of 100 he went partly by sea and partly by land to Nova Scotia on business with a relative, Col. O'Ferrell, who a was a Colonel of the 22nd Regt. of Infantry in Braddock's campaign, and returned safely without a palace car.

BOUNDARY LINES.

While in London, at the age of 70, Colonel Cresap was commissioned by his friend, Lord Baltimore, to survey the Western Boundary of Maryland, to decide which was the most Westerly Branch of the Potomac — the North or the South Branch, a matter of dispute between Lord Baltimore and Lord Fairfax. The survey was completed and Cresap drew the first map ever made of these North and South Branches of the Potomac, showing the course of the streams. And Cresap's survey, according to a Baltimore paper we saw last summer, is still the legal boundary of Maryland. This map can be seen in Baltimore, as it is still extant. It was sent to Gov. Sharpe and is attested by his secretary, Horatio Rideout, and on the map is this endorsement, by the son of the Secretary (Henry Rideout): "The Cresaps will be remembered forever."

THE OHIO COMPANY.*

We said Col. Cresap "had renewed his friendship with the Washington family," which began in early life. In 1749, a small company of gentlemen of wealth and influence in Maryland and Virginia (and a few in London), formed an organization called "The Ohio Company." Among these men, were Gen. Washington, Col. George Mason and Col. Thomas Cresap. (Mason and Dixon's line was called from Col. Mason).

To quote from the historians: "There can be no doubt that the exertions and influence of this Company, accelerated the explorations and settlements of the West. They were in fact the Corps of Pioneers, that opened the way to that immense flood of population we now see, spreading like a torrent to the Pacific Ocean. The nation is under obligation to this company and especially to the bold and enterprising spirit of Col. Cresap, for an early knowledge and acquisition of the country west of the Allegheny mountains."

*This was the first Ohio Company not the later one that settled Marietta, 1788—Ed.

In 1750 this company built a small stone house at "Wills Creek," Cumberland, and stocked it with goods, for the purpose of trading with the Indians, and the following year, one of their number—Colonel Thomas Cresap, laid out and marked a road from Wills Creek to the mouth of the Monongahela, now Cumberland to Pittsburg. Col. Cresap with his usual judgment called in an Indian to assist him, old Nemacolin. Scharf says—"The work was so well done, and the route so well chosen, that General Braddock with his army, afterward pursued this route, which thence forward was called 'Braddock's road.'" Scharf adds—"Col Cresap was one of the earliest settlers of Maryland, and without exaggeration, was one of the most remarkable men of his day." It should have been called "Cresap's road" but perhaps the sad fate of Gen. Braddock, it being the *last* road he ever traveled, helped to fix *his* name upon it. When the great "national road," the wonder of its day, was built across the mountains, it too, almost exactly followed Cresap's road. How glad would Col. Cresap have been to have looked upon the magnificent arches of solid masonry, across ravines and rivers, which still testify to the splendid quality of the work done, over 60 years ago, and to have looked upon the streams of travel and the relays of coaches, changing every twelve miles, coaches which carried our earlier Presidents to Washington. And then to have seen the railroads, with *millions* of traffic. In laying out this road Col. Cresap was a public benefactor, and worked for posterity and his name for that should never be forgotten.

Soon after the road was completed to Pittsburg, the Ohio Company made a settlement there, at their own expense. Historians tell us, the peace supposed to have been assured by the "treaty of Utrecht 1713" was broken constantly, if not consecutively. On this side the water, our poor colonists realized that it was war off and on, for nearly 100 years. It was called variously, "Old French and Indian war," King James', King William's, Queen Anne's, Braddock's and Dunmore's war—but it was all horrid war. Our own Sherman named it rightly—"War is hell." The sufferings that our ancestors endured, that we might enjoy our free, glorious country, we can never rightly understand or appreciate. France and England were ever striving for su-

premacy. France spared no effort to crush England, and claimed nearly everything—and to hold it, enlisted the savages as her allies, a measure which produced suffering unspeakable to our ancestors—which would make the blood run cold even in this July weather to relate. This we do know, England never would have conquered France and wrested from her the Canadas but for the colonies who loyally stood by her, and enabled her to hear the shout "they fly, they fly," at the siege of Quebec.

England's grant, of 600,000 acres of land to the "Ohio Company"—("on the south side of the Ohio River, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, and west of the Alleghenies,,), reopened the struggle. By the charter the Ohio Company was to select its lands immediately. Soon after the Company made its settlement at Pittsburg, the French with 1000 men fell upon the defenseless works and took them, and called the place Fort Duquesne. (April 1753.) Then they seized and pillaged the trading posts of the Ohio Company all along the frontier, and roused the savages against the English colonists. It was then, that Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia, sent Washington to the "Commandant at Pittsburg to remonstrate with him and to demand the evacuation of the territory (Oct. 31, 1753.). The demands of Virginia, delivered by Washington were not granted. Nothing was left but war.

Gov. Dinwiddie then summoned together, the "House of Burgesses," and sent a note to the British Secretary of State, (Earl of Holderness) "stating the precarious, and dangerous condition of the western frontier," as the western part of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania was then called. He also issued circular letters to all the English colonies, "to repel by force all attempts by the French, to intrude upon the settlements within the colonies." Then the Maryland Assembly met, and they decided, that they were resolutely determined to repel any hostile invasion by any foreign power."

General Washington came to Fort Cumberland on a tour of inspection, and also visited Col. Cresap, his old friend, at his fortress home of Old Town. Departing, after having inspected the frontier, Washington left Col. Innes (the son-in-law of Col. Cresap) at Fort Cumberland, in charge of the forces. Gov

Sharpe again called the "Maryland Assembly" together which appropriated 6,000 pounds, "for his Majesty's use for the defense of the colony of Virginia, attacked by French and Indians, and for the relief of the wives and children of the colonists, who put themselves under the care of the Government, etc."

On the passage of this act, Governor Sharpe immediately notified Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, who recommended "that Maryland raise a company of soldiers, to act in conjunction with the forces under Col. Innes, now at Cumberland."

Thereupon Gov. Sharpe issued a Commission to "Captain Thomas Cresap, later called Colonel," who, writes the Governor, "had behaved himself at all times, as a good servant of the Government, to raise a company of riflemen to serve beyond the Alleghenies" July 25th, 1754. This Commission antedated General Braddock's arrival at Fort Cumberland by some months, as he did not reach that fort until May 10th, 1755. Scharfe relates "When Gen. Braddock arrived at Fort Cumberland he found a large body of troops there, and among the officers, were those present, who afterwards distinguished themselves in the Revolution, viz: Thomas Cresap, Hugh Mercer, George Washington, Daniel Morgan, Horatio Gates and Thomas Gage."

The Indians were by this time laying waste all the frontier settlements, instigated by the French. The family of Cresap, was in a perilous situation, so he removed them to Conscocheage for safety, but on the way was attacked by a party of Indians. They were soon dispersed however, and he was not further molested. Many families fled to Frederickstown and others to Baltimore. After placing his family in safety, Col. Cresap obedient to Gov. Sharpe, raised a company of volunteer riflemen, and among them were two of his own sons, and marched to attack and repel the Indians. This was April 23rd, 1756. We will quote from the Maryland Gazette verbatim—"When they reached the mountains, a little east of what is now Frostburgh, they saw a party of Indians advancing. One of the riflemen firing too soon, alarmed the Indians, and they fled as fast as they could into the thickets, leaving their horses, and baggage which our people took and brought off. Among their baggage, one white scalp was found.

Colonel Cresap's son, Thomas Cresap Jr., chased one of the Indians nearly a mile, and gained on him, the Indian saw, he would be overtaken, and they both fired at once. Young Cresap was wounded, with a bullet and 7 buckshot, the bullet going through his breast; the others coming up, he said, "Pursue the enemy, don't mind me, I am a dead man," and he dropped down dead!

The Savage was also mortally wounded, but not yet dead, so they dispatched him, with a tomahawk. They then buried the body of young Cresap, as privately as possible, to preserve his scalp, and the mountain where this tragedy occurred, has ever since been called "Savage Mountain." His death was lamented by all who knew him, he was a young widower, and left a little daughter. From this wee lassie, only child of Thomas Cresap. Jr., are still many descendants, and among the noblest in the land, and some of them are present to-day, projectors of this re-union, being also descendants of Judge Schofield.

The war was raging in earnest now. It might have been settled, but abroad it was waged with fury by most of the European powers, and called there, the "Seven Years War." France and England were fighting and the others joined in for various reasons. Empress "Maria Theresa" allied herself with France instead of England, because France had a grudge against Prussia, and she hoped France would help recover "Silesia"—stolen by the Great Frederick. Empress Elizabeth of Russia—daughter of Peter the Great, fough twith them, zealously, against Prussia and England, because Frederick had said of her, "Elizabeth is entirely too fat and orthodox, and has not an ounce of nun in her composition." And so, because of revenge, and wounded vanity, and stolen provinces and the coveting of one another's territory, by these Kings, Queens, Emperors and Empresses—thousands of miles away, our colonists on this side of the ocean must meet death, by torture and scalping knife, and be burned in their homes by yelling, painted savages. We would not go into the horrid details, but the Indians claimed "that they took '50 white scalps' for every Indian killed."

June 30th, 1756, Col. Cresap and his party, had another skirmish with the savages. He had not forgotten the lamented sleeper on Savage Mountain; he enlisted another company of

volunteers, taking with him his two surviving sons Daniel and Michael and a gigantic negro servant, belonging to him.

This time they advanced into the wilderness as far as a mountain, a mile west of Grantsville. There, they met the Indians; a fight took place and the negro Goliath was slain, and the mountain has been "Negro Mountain" ever since. Another mountain is connected with the ramily of Col. Cresap. It is called "Dan's Mountain" and its summit "Dan's Rock." It was named for Daniel Cresap, oldest son of Col. Cresap, because of a daring and brave hunting exploit in his early youth, and it will wear his name forever. It is near Rawling's Station, where stands also Daniel's stone house. Dan's Mountain, though rugged, steep and difficult of ascent is much frequented by tourists, but they do not ascend on foot as Daniel marched up it. So the very mountains testify to the bravery of Col. Cresap and his family.

The troubles of our colonists increased. October 10th, 1755, the frontier men, gathered at Col. Cresap's and strengthened his Block House for defense. Gov. Sharpe then ordered into service, the militia of the eastern counties too. His order reads—"The troops are to march to Frederick, where James Dixon, will furnish them provision for five days, thence to the mouth of the Conecocheague where George Ross will furnish subsistence for eight days, or until they can reach Col. Cresap's, where they are to assist in the protection of the frontier!" Once at Col. Cresap's, the Governor seemed to know that they would be provided without any special command. Still the war raged, and in large scalping parties the Indians were ravaging the whole frontier. It was a concerted attack, and Washington wrote thus: "Another tempest has broken out on the frontier and the alarm spreads wider than ever. In short the inhabitants are so apprehensive of danger, that no families remain above Conecocheague road, and many are gone from below. The harvests are lost, and the distresses of the settlements are evident and manifold." On the 10th of July 1763, Col. Cresap wrote Gov. Sharpe for aid and men to assist in repelling the savages. Said "his fort was filled with distressed families who had fled to his stockade for safety, and they were all in hourly danger of being butchered, unless relief was afforded." His letter is a vivid picture of the sufferings of our ancestors, and,

is still in existence, preserved by the Historical Society of Maryland, and we herewith produce a certified copy:

Old Town July 15th 1763.

May it Please your Excellency

I take this opportunity in the hight of Confusion to acquaint you with our unhappy & most wretched Situation at this time being in Hourly Expectation of being Massicread by our Barberous & Inhuman Enemy the Indians we having been three days Successively Attacked by them viz. the 13, 14 & this Instant on the 13th as 6 men were shocking some wheat in the field 5 Indians fired on them & Killed one but was prevented Scalping him by one of the other men firing on them as they Came to do it & others Running to their assistance. On the 14 5 Indians Crep up to & fired on about 16 men who were Sitting & walking under a Tree at the Entrance of my Lane about 100 yards from My House but on being fired at by the white men who much wounded Some of them they Immediately Runn off & were followed by the white men about a Mile all which way was great Quantitys of Blood on the Ground the white men got 3 of their Bundles Containing Sundry Indian Implements & Goods about 3 Hours after Several gunns were fired in the woods on which a Party went in Quest of them & found 3 Beaves Killed by them, the Indians wounded one man at their first fire tho but slightly. On this Instant as Mr. Saml. Wilder was going to a house of his about 300 yards Distant from mine with 6 men & Several women the Indians Rushed on them from a Rising Ground but they Perceiving them Coming, Run towards my House hollowing which being heard by those at my house they Run to their Assistance & met them & the Indians at the Entrance of my lane on which the Indians Immediately fired on them to the Amount of 18 or Twenty & Killed Mr. Wilder, the Party of white men Returned their fire & Killed one of them dead on the spot & wounded Severall of the Others as appeared by Considerable Quantitys of Blood Strewed on the Ground as they Run off which they Immediately did & by their leaving behind them 3 Gunns one Pistol & Sundry other Emplements of warr &c &c.

I have Inclosed a List of the Disolate men women & Children who have fled to my House which is Inclosed by a Small Stockade for Safety by which youl See what a number of Poor Soals destitute of Every Necessary of Life are here penned up & likely to be Butchered without Immediate Relief & Assistance & Can Expct none unless from the Province to Which they Belong. I shall Submit to your wiser Judgment the Best & most Effectual method for Such Relief & shall Conclude with hoping we shall have it in time

I am Honnourable Sir

Your most Obedt. Servt.

Thos. Cresap.

P. S. those Indians who Attacked us this day are part of that Body which went to the Southward by this way In Spring which is Known by one of the Gunns we now got from them

The Maryland Gazette of July 19th, 1763, says: Fredericktown has contributed to the support of men to be added to Col. Cresap's force, as we look upon the preservation of Cresap's Fort at Old Town, to be of utmost importance to us, and a proper check to the ravages of the Indians, and to keep the enemy at a distance, and thus, shelter the whole province." July 21st, 1763, the "Maryland Gazette" mentions "Cresap is not yet cut off," and later reports "ten men more were sent to his assistance.

The "Seven Years' War" ended in Europe, and with the ceding of Canada to England by France on this side the sea. (Sept. 1763.) Peace smiled on our long suffering colonists for a few months. Then England forgot it was colonial valor enabled her to conquer the Canadas; so, lest the colonies grow too strong, she began to oppress and repress them. In just a year and a half or March 22nd, 1765, the odious "Stamp Act," was proclaimed. The colonies rebelled. In Frederickstown, the Stamp distributor, was burned in effig. The Governor called the "Provincial Assembly" together. Among those present from Frederick County, which then constituted western Maryland, the first one named is Col. Cresap.

This "Assembly" adopted resolutions against the "Stamp Act." They did not stop with that. Feeling was too high. In October, 1765, "The Sons of Liberty" organized under the leadership of Col. Thomas Cresap. Nov. 30th, the "Sons of Liberty" assembled at the house of Samuel Swearingen, whose two sisters "Ruth" and "Drusilla," married Col. Cresap's sons Daniel and Thomas, and whose daughter Elizabeth, wedded the Col.'s grandson, Daniel Cresap Jr.; (afterwards a Colonel in the Revolution). From the residence of Samuel Swearingen, the "Sons of Liberty" marched, two and two, taking up the coffin containing the "Stamp Act" at exactly three o'clock, with drums, and banners, and civic officers, and a figure in a chariot representing the Stamp Agent, (who is named), and placards containing more truth, than compliments; they marched through the principal streets, and arrived at the gallows, on the Court House green, where the "Stamp Act" was

buried under the gallows, amid loud huzzas. Then one of the "Sons of Liberty" read a paper, taken from the bosom of the figure, in a loud voice, purporting to be the Confession and last wishes of the Stamp distributor. After filling up the grave, the acclamations were repeated and the procession re-formed, and marched back to Samuel Swearingen's, where an elegant supper was prepared, and a ball given to the ladies, who made a brilliant appearance, and many loyal and patriotic toasts were drunk, and the whole concluded with the utmost decorum." The result was, the Stamp Act was soon rendered null and void in Maryland forever, for through the influence of these Sons of Liberty, their leader Col. Cresap, the Provincial Court of Maryland, March 31st, 1766 rescinded it. True, England repealed it March 18th, but the news did not reach Maryland till May 22nd, 1766, and it was already dead and buried. From this on, the mutterings of the coming tempest or cyclone were heard. Lord Dunmore's war broke out, instigated it is now believed by him and his agent, with a view to the future enlistment of the Indians against the colonists. He was an inveterate foe to the Revolution, and foresaw the inevitable, and used his power as Governor of Virginia later on for Great Britain, and hoped by and through the aid of the Indians to weaken the much enduring colonists.

At all events, the Indians were on the warpath again, destroying the settlements and butchering the inhabitants.

Lord Dunmore formally declared war April 21st, 1774, though Governor of Virginia, he sent a Captain's Commission to Cap. Michael Cresap dated June 10th, 1774, in spite of the fact that the latter was a resident of Maryland.

As many petitions had reached Capt. Cresap from various sections of the frontier, to come to their aid he accepted Lord Dunmore's Commission; raised a company and joined Maj. Angus McDonald's command, and marched with them to attack the Indians, at their strong town of "Waccatomica," on the Muskingum, where Dresden (Ohio) now stands. Like his father, old Col. Thomas Cresap, Capt. Michael Cresap was ever ready to obey his country's call. He was so popular, and so many men flocked to his standard that after his own company was full, he filled completely that of his nephew, Capt. Michael Cresap, Jr., and partly

the company of Capt. Hancock Lee. They did their duty and conquered the Indians again, and Dunmore's war ended in October, 1774. It however was only the precursor of the Revolution. The troubles with England had increased, the "tax on tea," the "Boston Massacre," and "Boston Port Bill," had exasperated the people.

So Frederick County had another convention, June 20th, 1774, and here again, we find our aged hero, Col. Cresap. This convention suggested calling together the colonies. On the 22nd of June, there was a general convention at Annapolis, and Cresap was a delegate there, and Maryland propsed the first Continental Congress, and elected the first set of delegates. The 18th of November, at Fredericktown was another meeting and Col. Cresap is present. Jan. 24th, 1775, a county convention held at Frederick. Col. Cresap is there, and is named as one of the "Committee of Observation" to carry the resolves of the American Congress into execution, and to raise money for arms and ammunition. The Provincial Convention had ordered $10,000, a large sum of money, to be collected. A subscription was to be opened in every "hundred" in all the counties. For Skipton Hundred, we find three names, and one is that of our aged hero, Col. Cresap.

The money collected was to be paid over March 23rd 1775, just in time too, for April 19th "the shot was fired at Lexington that echoed round the world," and set the colonies aflame with indignation and patriotism.

The Maryland "Sons of Liberty" including Col. Cresap, were all activity. They held meetings, and enlisted for service on the field and at home. The heroic Colonel, so long called the "English Colonel," always foremost for liberty, justice, and lovalty, was now too aged to go himself, but, urged his sons and grandsons to take up arms and march to the front.

The Second Continental Congress, sent word to Maryland, "you will get experienced officers, and the very best men that can be procured, as well, from affection to the service, as for the honor of the Province." In consequence of this command Maryland issued her first commission to Cap. Michael Cresap, the third son of the brave Col. Cresap. Says Scharf: "Cresap's company

of riflemen was the first from the South to reach Cambridge and join General Washington. After traveling 550 miles over the rough and difficult roads of that period, they arrived at their destination the 9th of August, making the march in 22 days, without losing a man. His riflemen were enrolled at Roxbury in Washington's command, August 13th." A letter from a gentleman of Fredericktown to Baltimore, July 19, 1775 says: "Capt. Cresap with his brave company have marched—I need not say anything of Capt. Cresap's undaunted courage. Not an American but knows him to be an intrepid warrior, and of course he knows his men and has called them from the many." So popular was Capt. Michael Cresap that he enlisted enough for two companies; he made his selection and kept 130; the rest were added to other companies in the Regiment.

Colonel Cresap promised Capt. Michael to look after his wife and little ones, and was exceedingly active in every way in helping our country's cause. He stirred up three of his grandsons to also go to the front in their Uncle's company.

We might quote from Brantz Mayer of Baltimore, before the Historical Society of Maryland.

"I have had the happiness of seeing Capt. Michael Cresap marching at the head of a formidable company of upward 130 men, from the mountains, painted like Indians, and armed with tomahawks and rifles, and dressed in their hunting shirts and moccasins and though some of them have traveled nearly 800 miles, from the banks of the Ohio River, they seemed to walk as light, and with as much spirit, as the first hour of their march." He then describes their wonderful dexterity in rifle practice, standing up, lying down, bending in a circle, in any position, and adds: "I had the opportunity of attending the captain during his stay in town, and observing the behavior of his men, and his manner of treating them. It seems, all who go to war under him, not only pay the most willing obedience to him, as commander, but look to him in trouble as their friend and father, and he treated them with kindness without losing his dignity. Among his men were Michael Cresap Jr., Daniel Cresap Jr., and Joseph Cresap, his nephews. Daniel Cresap Jr., became a Colonel and the others were Lieutenants. The old Colonel was soon bereft of his son

Capt. Michael who died in the service, but he felt then as ever, "it is sweet and glorious to die for one's country."

The old Colonel did not live to know the victory at Yorktown, but saw it with the eye of faith, and never for a moment doubted our ultimate triumph, and he labored for the cause of liberty and country while he lived. His name is still held in reverence for his brave achievements and sufferings which have helped to make this great nation. All honor to him and his compatriots!

Col. Cresap's voice has echoed in the halls of Congress through his descendants. On the Judge's Bench, and from the legal forums, and in Legislative Assemblies, in most of our States, including our own Ohio, his descendants have served with the hereditary wisdom, for which he was so esteemed in the Assemblies of the Province and State of Maryland.

His bravery did not expire on the battle fields of the Revolution. In the War of 1812 through later Cresaps, his blood flowed on the "Essex" upon the sea, and on the land too it was shed.

In the Grand Army of the Republic, they marched with Sherman to the Sea. With Grant at Vicksburg, Shiloh and Appomattox were many of his posterity, serving through the war, from lieutenants in rank to generals. The commanding general of the battle of Inka, and who served with honor through the war and had charge of the Southwest Division later, was a grandson of Col. Daniel Cresap of the Revolution, and great grandson of Col. Thomas Cresap our aged hero, and he served until on "Fame's eternal camping ground" he slept. (Gen. Edward Otho Cresap Ord.)

In Cuba and Manila and in the home land, his children's children to the seventh generation, fight for "old glory," and support the cause he loved and for which he suffered; the cause of liberty, loyalty, country. Still his characteristics follow his descendants. Among the promotions to higher rank, made this month by President McKinley in the Regular Army, were some of Col. Cresap's descendants. What must have been the strong remarkable character of Col. Cresap, who could so impress upon his children to the seventh generation, his honesty, integrity, be-

nevolence, wisdom, courage, patriotism, loyalty to country and to friends!

Up San Juan hill that awful day, we hear the voice of the brave old Colonel in one of his latest descendants. "All who are brave follow me," he would rush, upward and onward, shouting that cry and leading his men, then rest a few moments, and again that young voice would ring out—"All who are brave follow me," calling to his men, then run ahead again—"All who are brave follow me," when nearly at the top and in the moment of victory, it is also the spirit of his ancestor Col. Cresap, the "bravest and tenderest" which impels him, as he regards a wounded Spaniard with pitying eye, to turn to his men with the order—"Take that Spaniard and carry him behind the block house, out of the fire,"—he was just in range and also in danger of being trampled to death and, continues one of the men who received the command, "The scoundrel listened, and then pulling out his pistol poked it in our Lieutenant's face, and killed him on the spot, the brave boy, we had been following all day, and, who in the moment of victory had thought how he might save the scoundrel's life—and" continues the historian, "the leader of this scattered line, this forlorn hope, that persisted in advancing through the leaden hail, was of a family that has given many a brave soldier to our country, but none braver than he"—"and so the officer we worshipped, lay cold in death in the hour of victory." Shall we not hearken to the will of this youthful scion of a brave house, we who are of his blood, and though we lament the loss to our country of our young hero, (Jules Gansche Ord, son of General Edward Otho Cresap Ord), and with him descendants of the intrepid Col. Cresap, shall we not love the starry banner and follow it where it leads? mindful of the last message of that sweet young voice "All who are brave follow me!"

INTRODUCTION OF METHODISM IN OHIO.

BY REV. I. F. KING, D. D.

[Dr. King is a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University in the class of 1858. He received the degree of D. D. from Miami University. For forty-three years he has served in the ministry of his church and for fourteen years was a presiding elder in the Ohio Conference.]—EDITOR.

The recent celebration at Delaware, Ohio, of the one hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Methodism in the State of Ohio, has caused us all to review with interest the heroic and self-sacrificing work of the fathers, and to wonder at the results as they appear before us in diversified forms.

Men of all faiths have pleasure in gathering together facts connected with religious movements. The present effort is to preserve, if possible, some important papers read on the above named occasion and add some further interesting data for the future historian. No other religious movement has perhaps so generally and profoundly impressed the State as Methodism.

ORIGIN OF METHODISM IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

A sketch of the origin of the church, its introduction into America, together with a careful survey of its local history may be useful and interesting.

This branch of the Church had its origin in England only thirty-seven years before the Declaration of Independence was signed. And ten years before the united colonies dissolved civil relations with Great Britain Methodism entered the new world. Indeed the Wesleyan movement was only fifty years old at the settlement of Ohio at Marietta in 1788.

The history of this Church in the state can be best understood after a brief review of its origin and early history.

John Wesley, the son of an English clergyman, was born in 1703.

His mother's careful conscientious training, produced in her son such high ideas as to Christian character, that her son readily

saw and felt the contrast in coming in contact with nominal Christians after he left home influences.

The recoil he first realized in his associations in school and afterward in college life, was marked. Neither his teachers nor his preachers were as devout or spiritual as his standard demanded. He and his brother, Charles Wesley, while in Oxford University, united with other like-minded young men in the study of the Greek Testament and in prayer, in such a methodical way as to produce, as they hoped, the best results. They sought purity of heart and life. Their collegemates in derision called them "The Holy Club" and nicknamed them "Methodists."

JOHN WESLEY.
First President of the British Conference.

As these young collegians advanced in knowledge and experience in the divine life, the more they saw that the clergymen of their times were indifferent to spiritual realities. Indeed, history verifies the views of the Wesleys; and shows that these men were idle and lifeless. In a formal way they served the Church and looked more to "their livings" than their lives.

At the age of twenty-eight John Wesley had completed his course of study at Oxford, and was ordained an elder in the Church of England. In a freak of enthusiasm he came to America, spending the time in the southern states, but soon found he was in the wrong place, and returned to England. In the mean time he learned from the Moravians that they, in the simplicity of their faith, enjoyed a heritage of gracious favor with God, not known at that time, in the established church. He determined also to possess like precious faith.

In reading Paul's letter to the Romans as to justification by faith he "felt his heart strangely warmed." Immediately he began to preach in this vein to his father's parishioners and the prisoners at Newgate. The Church objected to the zeal of Mr. Wesley He was refused the use of the churches. He betook

himself to field preaching, and vast numbers of people followed him, who soon enjoyed with him like satisfactory experience. At Moorefield, as winter approached, his followers got possession of a foundry, and it was used as the first shelter. It was really an institutional church, for soon it had a school for the poor, a library, a loan office, an old ladies' home, and an employment bureau. As the work went on he introduced lay preaching. This auxiliary aided in expanding the work materially. These converts asked for the sacraments, at the hands of the Church of England, but were denied.

About this time he announced the sentiment that "The World is my Parish." He never left the Church of England and never intended to establish a new Church, yet he was forced to give the lambs of his flock the sacraments.

BARBARA HECK.

Soon all England was filled with his converts and also Ireland and Wales. Irish emigrants reached North America who were of his converts. A little company of them were in New York. They began to degenerate and when they met socially, instead of prayer and Bible study, they engaged in card playing.

Mrs. Barbara Heck, a saintly woman, came into their community and expostulated with them, persuading them to burn their cards; and she besought the Rev. Philip Embury to preach in her private house to the company. This was in 1766, when Mr. Embury organized the first class in America, consisting of Paul Heck, Barbara Heck, John Lawrence and his wife and a colored woman named Betty. The first church in America was built on John Street, New York, in 1768.

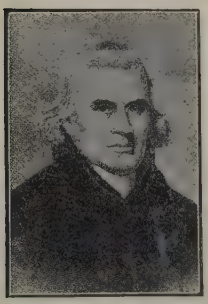
To aid the work in America, the Wesleyans in Leeds, England, raised $350.00 missionary money which was applied to the workers in the cities of New York and Philadelphia. The work rapidly advanced in this country, and John Wesley gave it all

the superintendence it was possible for a man in another continent to do.

The established church declined to recognize the American converts, as she had done in England and these "sheep in the wilderness," (as Mr. Wesley called them,) were without the sacraments.

In 1771 Mr. Wesley sent over to America the Rev. Francis Asbury, who was an elder. He held a conference in 1773 in Philadelphia of ten preachers, and sent them out to the various fields in New York, New Jersey and Maryland. At that time there were 1160 members of the Church.

After the revolutionary war, Mr. Wesley found the people could not get along at all in this country without an organization separate from the Wesleyans of Europe. In 1784 he ordained the Rev. Thomas Coke a bishop for America and sent with him a letter to his people in America to ordain the Rev. Francis Asbury also a bishop, which was done late in December of that year in the city of Baltimore. This was the origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. It began free from ritualism and the many forms of service which had accumulated about the Mother Episcopal Church. It was Armenian, not Calvinistic in its faith. It had new machinery suited to new conditions. It would be difficult to conceive of a Church, in organization and doctrine, better fitted to the spirit and life of the American pioneers. It was Wesley's aim to give the new continent primitive Christianity. It stands to reason that this kind of a church with the fire of Pentecost in the heart of its workers, would be well nigh irresistible. The institutions of the Church itself and the formation of nearly every society connected with it, is the result of Providential opening and direction. This will be seen as we look at the way in which each piece of machinery of the Church came into use. At Bristol, England, Mr. Wesley found money was necessary to meet the obligations on him, so he placed eleven names in a class and appointed a man to see each one,



FRANCIS ASBURY.

once per week, to collect a penny apiece to support the Church. As these men reported weekly to Mr. Wesley, he learned of some who were in distress, some were sick, and some were becoming weary in well doing. So he received the suggestion of turning the matter around and making the primary object religious instruction and spiritual development, with a leader to meet his class weekly and look after the spiritual welfare of each and receive from each a little contribution for the Church and poor. Two or more classes form a society, and in America as many societies as are needed are clustered together to support a pastor. This makes a pastoral charge. As these increase an assistant preacher is added. The preacher in charge has authority to receive and dismiss members and is responsible for the administration of discipline.

When a society becomes large enough to support a pastor, it is formed into a station. Twelve or more circuits and stations are clustered together and form a district. And from two to ten districts usually form an annual conference. An official board governs the local society. A quarterly conference exists in every pastoral charge. An annual conference with a bishop to preside admits pastors into it, and receive reports from them, from year to year. And every four years an equal number of ministers and lay-delegates are elected to the general conference, which is the law-making body of the Church. Class leaders are appointed by the pastors. Exhorters are selected by the official boards, and are subject to the quarterly conference. They may conduct prayer meeting in the absence of the pastor and in early years they went forth wherever needed and pressed the people to forsake sin, and turn to God. Local preachers are those ministers who preach and are not subject to the appointment of the Bishop, but reside in one place and act as substitutes for regular pastors in their absence, and they preach usually without compensation wherever invited or needed. The Bishops found in superintending the work, that in their absence there was need of supervision of the work of the Church; to discover new fields not occupied, to look up supplies for vacant pulpits and to give the sacraments to the people where the minister was not ordained. So men, from time to time, were appointed as presiding elders. These

officers the bishop calls into his councils to aid in distributing the ministers to the several churches.

By the year 1790, under Bishops Coke and Asbury, the work had spread from Boston to Rochester, N. Y. From Philadelphia to Wheeling and south to Charleston, South Carolina, and southwest to Nashville, Tennessee, and Lexington, Kentucky.

The itinerant Methodist preacher had followed the emigrant and the pioneer miner was closely pursued by them. In 1791 John Wesley died, having preached 52 years. He had traveled on horseback 250,000 miles and had preached 42,000 times. There were in England 52 preachers and 125,000 members and in the United States there were 200 preachers and 38,000 members. It will be seen that Mr. Wesley was not a destructionist but a constructionist. In all this development of work under him, which would have prompted any other great leader in the world, to have withdrawn from the parent organization, and himself become the head of a new Church, but on the contrary he continued unto death a member of the established Church of England.

Of him it has been said, "his frame was of adamant and his soul a flame of fire." Among the reasons for his great success was the strong conviction which possessed him in youth and continued unabated to the end of a long life. Under the impulse of this mighty power he was ready to spend and be spent.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY AS A FIELD FOR CHURCH WORK.

Hail to the "Great Northwest," as it stood in the days of our grandsires!
Vast territorial realm, and fresh as at dawn of creation,—
Fair as the Garden of Eden, and fraught with fertility boundless,—
Cradle of five great States, of imperial riches and glory!
Hail to its limitless forests, unscathed by the ax or the firebrand;
Solemn, majestic, the pillared and leafy cathedrals of nature,
Organ'd with anthems Æolian, choired by invisible spirits,
Mightiest *sylva sylvarum* that e'er awed the realm of mortals!
Hail to its prairies, rolling in billowy oceans of verdure,
Silt of pre-Adamite seas, and richer than Nile's inundations,
Gemmed with blossoms by millions, as bright as the stars in the heavens,
Waiting to teem with culture and bread for a world's population!
Hail to its far-flowing rivers, voluminous, countless, and pouring

Floods unexhausted, prolific, the highways of travel and traffic:
Vast Mississippi, Ohio, Maumee, Wisconsin and Wabash,
Bright Illinois, Rock River, Muskingum, St. Clair and Scioto—
Streams unnamed and unsung, all yet to be famous and classic!
Hail to the five Great Lakes, the American Mediterranean,
Fresh as the mountain springs, and blue as the azure above them,
Deep as the seas, and as wide, with room for the fleets of the nations,
Bearing to-day on their bosoms a commerce that rivals Atlantic's!
Hail to the air of this realm, its climate, inspiring and tonic!
Hail to its quarries and mines—its iron lead copper, and carbon,
Limestone and freestone and grindstone, to sharpen the sword or the plowshare;
Oil from the flinty rock, and gas from retorts subteranean—
Factors for industries vaster than ever the Old World astounded!
Such was the "Great Northwest," as it stood unexplored and unpeopled,
Stretching from blue Alleghenies to far-off Father of Waters;—
Such in its virgin perfection, a continent's garden and glory,
Fairest cluster of gems in the New World's diadem destined.

—Geo. L. Taylor's Ohio Centennial Poem in *Western Christian Advocate.*

In 1800 the Ohio River was regarded as the extreme frontier of America, constituting the dividing line between the white and the red man. No line was sufficient to form a barrier against the invasion of both parties. The white man was as frequently the aggressor as the Indian, and many were the scenes of suffering, carnage and massacre witnessed along this border line. When the Northwestern Territory was ceded to the United States by Virginia in 1784, it embraced only the territory lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers and north to the northern limits of the United States. It coincided with the area now embraced in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and that portion of Minnesota lying on the east side of the Mississippi river.

After New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut had surrendered their rights in this territory, in 1787 Congress passed a famous ordinance for the protection of this territory, which is recognized by all to-day as a masterpiece of statesmanship. It vindicated the principles of the thirteen colonies and provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the territory. It contained also the following: "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary for good government and the

happiness of mankind, schools and the means for education shall forever be encouraged."

From two directions came emigrants to this territory. From the east, coming from the Red Stone country of Pennsylvania. Also the settlers had found the Cumberland Gap, and though it had passed on to Tennessee and Kentucky, and from these states had turned northward toward the Ohio river. Many of these last named came north from conscientious motives, so as to be out of slave territory. When they came to the valley of the Ohio, they did not find it a place of habitation, but a hunting ground. The savage seemed not to take in the situation when he saw the white man or even his cabin, where the wife and children could be seen.

But the sight of the block house and the stockade was a challenge for conflict. Most of the preachers who came in the wake of these pioneers had more or less army experience and knew well how to use a rifle. Most of the people were the sons or the grand-sons of the Revolutionary soldiers. Of course, these were refugees and adventurers.

But the new soil of Ohio received the best seed of the nation. Of those who came 89 per cent were of American birth, only 11 per cent foreigners, and of the foreigners two-thirds were Germans. But it is true that of these men, when they had passed the bounds of their old home society, and were in these regions where they felt no restraint, many became rough and some became seriously wicked. Of course, these emigrants brought with them the views of religion taught them by their parents. Many were Calvinists, a few were Armenian in faith. Many were Baptists, some Episcopalians, others Universalists. There were some pronounced Atheists. It was quite difficult for church workers to keep apace with these travelers. The Methodist preachers often went in bands of two, mounted, with arms and food for a day or two, hoping to find shelter at night at some friendly cabin, for courage and hospitality were prime virtues in these wilds. Generally the preacher was treated with respect and found a hearty welcome. Sometimes they camped in the roads and took turns in keeping watch, while others slept. The doctrine that the Gospel provides salvation for all men, and that salvation is from

all sin, and that each may know that he is saved and that each should witness the fact, commended itself to the common sense of the people. So in the main Methodism found an easy right of way. It is true that many of the ministers were masters of the art of controversy, and polemic theology.

ORIGIN OF CAMP MEETINGS.

We quote from the Rev. J. B. Finley's Pioneer Life:

"In the spring of 1800 one of the most astonishing and powerful revivals that has been known in the western country occurred. The commencement of this work is traceable to the joint labors of two brothers named McGee, in Cumberland County, Kentucky, one of whom was a Presbyterian and the other a Methodist preacher. They commenced laboring together every Sabbath, preaching, praying, and exhorting alternately. This union was regarded as quite singular and excited the curiosity of vast multitudes who came to the place of the meeting to hear two men preach who held views in theology, supposed to be entirely antagonistic. Nothing was discovered in their preaching of a doctrinal character, except the doctrine of man's total depravity and ruin by sin, and his recovery therefrom by repentance and faith in Christ. All were exhorted to flee the wrath to come and be saved from their sins. The word which they preached was attended with the power of God to the hearts of listening thousands. The multitude which flocked from all parts of the country to hear them, became so vast that no church could hold them, and they were obliged to resort to fields and woods. Every vehicle was put in requisition, carriages, wagons, carts, and sleds. Many came on horseback and larger crowds still came on foot.

As the excitement increased and the work of conviction and conversion continued, several brought tents and they were pitched on the ground and remained day and night for many days. This was the origin of campmeetings.

In 1804 the Cane Ridge Campmeeting took place. In the interim between the McGee meeting and this there were frequent successful campmeetings. Mr. Finley gives the results of this meeting in these terms: "Language is too poor to give anything

like an adequate idea of the sublimity and grandeur of the scene. Twenty thousand persons tossed to and fro like the tumultuous waves of the sea in a storm, or swept like the trees in the forest under the blast of the wild tornado, was a sight which my eye witnessed but which neither my pen nor tongue can describe. Good judges were ready to admit that there were extravagances to be found in these meetings which should be condemned, but all was not wild fanaticism. The main trend of the work was that of God's Spirit on the hearts of the people. Thousands were genuinely converted to God." The Cumberland Presbyterian Church had its origin at this time and place. It was at these altars that young preachers, who in after years came to Ohio to labor, got their hearts aflame. It took bold, courageous and untiring Christian zeal to break down the strongholds of sin in these western wilds. For rivers were to be swum, hunger, thirst and weariness to be endured and penury to be faced. From this source came the consuming fire which was in the bones of the men who first preached in the northwest territory. Here men had conviction that Christ died for all men; that salvation was in their reach, and it was their duty to offer mercy to all.

DRESS AND HABITS OF PIONEERS.

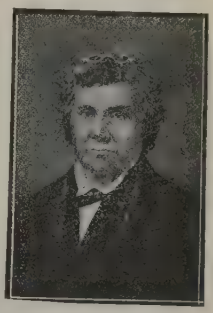
Let us now turn our eyes to the homes, habits and costumes and customs of the people these early Ohio pastors served.

With the better classes the costume was buckskin trowsers, a hunting shirt, a leathern belt around the waist, a scabbard and a big knife fastened to their belt. Some of them wore hats and some wore caps. Their feet were covered with moccasins, made of dressed deer skins.

They did not think themselves dressed without their powder horns and shot pouch or the gun and tomahawk. They were ready then for all alarms, whether it came while at home or on the way to or at church. The first settlers could not have sustained themselves had it not been for the wild game that was in the country. This was their principal substance and this they took at the peril of their lives; and often many of them came near starving to death. Wild meat, without bread or salt, was

often their food for weeks together. If they obtained bread, the meal was pounded in a mortar or ground on a hand mill. Sometimes it was grated on a tin grater.

Rev. James B. Finley writes that when he set up for housekeeping near Bainbridge, Ohio, "with the aid of brother John I built a cabin in the forest, my nearest neighbor being three miles off. Into this we moved without horse or cow, bed or bedding, bag or baggage. We gathered up the leaves and dried them in the sun; then picking out all the sticks we put them into a bedtick. For a bedstead we drove forks into the ground and laid sticks across, over which we placed elm bark. On this we placed our bed of leaves and had comfortable lodging. The nearest mill was thirty miles distant. The Rev. Peter Cartwright speaks thus of the meal made in the mortar. "We stretched deer skin over a hoop; burned holes in it with the prongs of a fork, sifted our meal, baked our bread, ate it, and it was first rate eating, too. We raised or gathered from the woods our own tea. We had sage Bohea, cross-vine, spice and sassafras teas in abundance. As for coffee, I am not sure that I smelled it for ten years. We made our sugar from the water of the maple tree, and our molasses too. These were great luxuries in those days." In another place he records the fact that he traveled for ten years as an itinerant preacher before he was invited to sleep in a plastered house. This occurred in the house of Governor Edward Tiffin, of Chillicothe.



PETER CARTWRIGHT.

THE TYPICAL CABIN

Was built of round logs, chunked and daubed, enclosing one room fifteen by eighteen feet. There was but one door and opposite it a window, which, if it had not glass in it, had a four light sash covered with oiled paper, or if neither of these, there was a wooden shutter, which was opened in day time and closed at night. The door was of split plank or puncheon, hung on wooden hinges with a wooden latch which was fastened within

to a string, which in day time protruded without through a small hole, but at night was drawn within. On the interior the floor was of puncheons, the hearth was of rock, of nature's own hewing. The fireplace was wide and deep enough to receive logs eight and ten feet long. There was an iron crane in the chimney or a wooden pole, to which was attached a chain which below ended in a hook to which swung an iron pot used for many purposes. The other cooking utensils were a skillet, iron tea kettle, a wooden tray for kneading bread. Next to the window a plain, cheap dining table and on it the linen table cloth folded up, and if there was no stand in the house the Bible and hymn book lay there too. In the rear of the room stood a bed with a valance around its legs to conceal the trundle-bed, used by the children. A few shelves at the left of the fire-place, resting on wooden pins, contained the dishes. And on the other side of the fire-place, there too, were some shelves which contained the clock and a few books. A chest or box contained the linen and clothing of the family, except a few larger garments which hung on pins in the wall in the rear, beside the chest or possibly bureau. Over the door rested the gun on a rustic rack. A rough ladder reached the loft, in the rear of the room, and up there were the supplies for winter for man and beast. There too were walnuts and hickory nuts, some dried fruits and garden seeds, with a few tools, among them a cross-cut saw. Also in this loft were deposited cast-off garments and some disabled furniture.

CABIN OF THE REV. R. R. ROBERTS.

Who entered the Baltimore Conference in 1802. He lived in this cabin from 1805 to 1808, while engaged in his regular work of preaching. It was also his episcopal residence for some years after he became bishop.

The roof of the cabin was covered with clap-boards held to their place by ridge-poles. The chimney was built up ten feet high with stone and mortar and finished out with sticks cemented together with dried mud. Beside the chimney next to the door was the dog kennel. The means of conveying supplies from the east was at first on pack horses.

HIGHWAYS.

In forming a new road to any point, the hatchet was used by the pathfinder who cleaved the bark off the trees in pieces as large as the hand. Thus, as he went, he blazed the way. After this the logs and smaller trees were removed, so that wheeled vehicles could pass. After the roads were made passable, then came the ox-team and following these came the covered wagon drawn by horses. It was essential to the comfort of emigrants passing westward to have a road cut out, and at proper places have wells dug in order that man and beast could be supplied with water. So in 1796, under the direction of the general government, the Zane trace was made from Zanesville, Ohio, to Maysville, Kentucky; and the first man to pass over it with a wagon was Mr. William Craig.

LIVE STOCK.

To keep the cows from wandering off to remote places where it would be difficult to find them, each pioneer who could afford it, had a bell fastened to the neck of his cow, so she in moving her head would make it ring. Another valuable provision for the advantage of the pioneer was the marking of live stock, such as cattle, hogs, and sheep by holes or scores in the ears. Each citizen could select his own mark and register the same with a county officer, and in this way he was able to identify his property. For in those days stock had the freedom of all unfenced forests.

An Ohio minister, as late as 1852, while attending general conference in the city of Boston, noted with surprise the cleanliness of the city, and much of this he discovered was due to the city ordinance which prohibited stock from running at large in the city.

In our age we are liable to think that the conditions of the present existed in the past. The contrast between the past and the present in Ohio is exceedingly great.

J. B. Finley says that the first Presbyterian minister in Chillicothe was Rev. Robert W. Finley and the first Methodist preachers were Revs. Harr and Tiffin. The first physician was Dr. Samuel McAdow, the first legislature met under a sycamore tree on the banks of the Scioto river near the foot of Mulberry street. In this connection it may be of interest to state that the first steamboat made its trip on the Ohio river in 1811, and steam was not applied to vessels on Lake Erie until 1818. The first railroad in this state began running trains in 1841.

PLACE OF WORSHIP.

Of necessity the place of worship with the pioneer was his cabin. Near the little window was set a small stand with a Bible and hymn book. These books were also always in the saddle bags of the minister. The preacher's seat was a split-bottomed or husk-bottomed chair. Next to the wall were arranged blocks, on which were placed wide, smooth rails or boards for seats, and in an inner circle near the minister were a few of the elderly worshipers in chairs. There being few hymn books, the minister lined the hymns. All kneeled during prayer. After the sermon was ended, a class meeting, concluded with an invitation to join the Church; and in most cases the services did not close without an appeal to men to cease the life of sin and then and there repent of sin and surrender to God. It was the exception to hold a service without at least one conversion. The people came to the services plainly clad and no one stayed away because his garments were not of a fashionable cut. If the meeting was at night, the people did not start home without lighting their torches at the fire, (for friction matches were not then in use). A few persons had tin lanterns with a bit of candle. In many cases the forests were so swampy that ladies especially, frequently wore the rough heavy shoes to a spot near the church, then took off the heavy shoes and put on the lighter ones, which had been carried in hand to that spot. The exchanged shoes were deposited in a fence corner or under the bark of some log.

And on the return home another exchange was made; in this way good shoes were kept looking well for many years.

FIRST PREACHING.

The following accurate authentic account of the introduction of Methodism into the North West Territory is from the pen of Mr. Samuel W. Williams of Cincinnati, Ohio:

"The first preacher in the great west was Jeremiah Lambert, who traveled the Holston Circuit in 1783. Four years later the work was extended, comprehending the Nollichucky Circuit and the entire state of Kentucky and the Cumberland region.

At the same time two new circuits were formed near the headwaters of the Ohio: the Clarksburg and the Ohio, the latter lying in Virginia, between Wheeling and Pittsburg. Of these the first was manned by Robert Cann and George Parsons, and the other by Charles Connoway and George Callanhan. A few families had crossed the Ohio river into what was generally called the Indian country but was to be known as "the Northwestern Territory" and for protection built a block-house on the river at Carpenter's station.

For some time the frontiers had been without alarm; but in September, 1787, the Indians made an inroad upon the settlement and killed part of the family of Mr. ——— McCoy. Some of the settlers made their escape and fled to the block-house, where all the families were soon collected for safety.

In four or five days thereafter one of the preachers on the Ohio Circuit preached at the cabin of Regin Pumphrey in Peach Bottoms, Va., about a mile and a half from the station.

Eight or ten persons from that point had crossed over the river to attend the service, and at its conclusion earnestly besought the young preacher to come to the station and preach for them in the afternoon at the block-house. A council was immediately held on the subject but the majority of the preacher's friends deemed it unsafe for him to go. After a few moments of deliberation however, he determined for himself and turning to the applicants said: Return and make what arrangements you can; and if providence permits, I will visit you at four o'clock.

When the preacher (George Callanhan) reached Carpenter's Station, a place about a mile above the present village of Warrenton, Jefferson County, Ohio, he found a congregation already assembled including some of his hearers in the forenoon. Fifteen or twenty hardy backwoodsmen, armed with rifles, tomahawks and scalping knives, stood on the outside of the assembly as protectors against an alarm. After the service was ended a pressing invitation was given the preacher to visit Carpenter's Fort again, and he cheerfully acceded to the request.

During his stay on the Ohio Circuit, which was about four months longer, a number of persons from the opposite side of the river applied for admission into the society, and they were regularly enrolled in a class.

This was perhaps the first Methodist preaching within the boundaries of Ohio—certainly the first of which we have any definite knowledge—though it is claimed that Joseph Hill had preached in Ohio a year or two previous.

In the southwestern part of the state the earliest Methodist sermon was preached by Francis Clark, a local preacher from Danville, Ky., and the pioneer of Methodism in that state. He visited Fort Washington in 1793 and like St. Paul at Athens "his spirit was stirred within him" when he beheld the godlessness of the troops and the wickedness of the citizens. Through the intervention of a friend, he obtained the privilege of preaching in the fort, where he delivered his message from God faithfully and fearlessly. Two years later James Smith, likewise a local preacher from Richmond, Va., crossed the Ohio river at Cincinnati (November 15, 1795) and the next day preached at the cabin of Mr. —— Talbert, about seven miles from the city on the road to Hamilton. Mr. Smith was a kinsman of the venerable Philip Gatch and came to Ohio on a prospecting tour. Mr. Talbert met him and with genuine hospitality insisted on his staying over night at his home where Mrs. Talbert baked him provisions for his journey. In the evening his host gathered a few of his neighbors and Mr. Smith spoke to them from Luke 2, 10, the angelic announcement to the shepherds of Bethlehem. To these hearers his words were indeed "good tidings of great joy."

So far these Methodist movements in Ohio were sporadic and no efforts seem to have been made by the traveling ministers to establish societies or stated preaching in that territory until 1798, when John Kobler, who had been appointed presiding elder on the Kentucky district, was directed by Bishop Asbury to go over the river and form a regular circuit.

Valentine Cook was at the same time sent from Baltimore to take Mr. Kobler's place on the district. The two men met on the Holston Circuit, July 28th, and Mr. Kobler having given his successor all the information needed to prosecute the work, set out for his new field of labor. On August 1st he crossed the Ohio at Columbia, a small village near the mouth of the Little Miami (now included within the corporate limits of Cincinnati), and the same evening he reached the cabin of Francis McCormick a local preacher from Virginia, near Milford. Here he received a hearty welcome, and the next day, to as large a congregation as could be collected, he preached and read the general rules of the society. He also met the class of members which had been gathered by Mr. McCormick and appointed Philip Hill the leader.. As this was the first regularly organized class in Ohio it may be well to record the names of those composing it. They are: Philip Hill, Ambrose Ransom, Francis McCormick, Joseph Gest, John Hill, Philip Gatch, Ezekiel Dimmitt, William Salter, Philip Smyzer, and their wives with Jeremiah Hall, Mrs. Temperance Raper and Tom, a colored man whose last name history does not give—in all twenty-one.

Most of the members belonging to the first class in Ohio went from three to eight miles every week to attend class meeting regardless of the weather and their number speedily increased. Philip Hill, who had been appointed to take charge of this class, was a model leader. It was his custom to visit the members three or four times a year at their own homes, and he always introduced his visits with singing and prayer, after which he closely questioned all the household present on the subject of practical and experimental religion. With such watch-care there was no room for backsliding; and the influence of that society extended far and wide. Clermont county became the hive of Methodism in southern Ohio.

After spending five days in this place Mr. Kobler took Francis McCormick for a guide and the two proceeded up the Little Miami to its sources, visiting the newly formed settlements in the valleys of Mad River and the Great Miami, touching at Dayton, Hamilton and Franklin and returning to the place of beginning by way of Fort Washington. There was then in Cincinnati only a few log cabins clustered under the hill, one store and a printing office outside the fort; but Mr. Kobler could find no open door to deliver his message of salvation in what is now the center of a vast population. The territory which he passed over he formed into a two-weeks circuit, with eight or ten appointments.

Mr. Kobler remained here less than a year, when, at the conference which met May 17, 1799, Lewis Hunt was appointed his successor. In the same year and month that Mr. Kobler left, Robert Manley crossed the Ohio River opposite Marietta, and stopped at the home of William McCabe on the stockade. On the following day (April 7th), he preached in McCabe's cabin and closed with a social prayer meeting. He then organized a class of six persons, to wit: William McCabe, John and Samuel Protsman, and their wives. On the 10th of the month he visited Wolf Creek and Waterford and there also formed classes. Thus we have two or three beginnings of Methodism in Ohio and at points widely separated.

Mr. Hunt's health soon broke down and Henry Smith was sent by the presiding elder, Francis Poythress, to take his place or at least relieve him in his work. Mr. Smith reached Milford on September 14th and the next day set out to seek Mr. Hunt. He found him on Mad River near Dayton, at the house of William Hamer, who had been appointed leader of the first class formed in that section. Mr. Hunt had so far recovered his health as to be able to prosecute his work, and accordingly they arranged with each other for Mr. Smith to proceed to the Scioto country while Mr. Hunt remained in the Miami region. The former then proceeded on his travels through southern Ohio, in various places preaching and forming classes, and on October 1st he came to the house of Colonel Joseph Moore, a local preacher from Kentucky, who had settled on Scioto Brush Creek. Here he

found a society of Methodists already organized by that intrepid and zealous pioneer who made the first clearing in that part of the territory. Soon after he began his improvements. Neighbors flocked in and when Mr. Smith visited him the society had become so numerous that no private house was large enough to hold the congregation that came together for worship. In this emergency Colonel Moore gave a piece of bench-land, not far from the creek, for a meeting house and burying ground, and in August, 1800, before Mr. Smith left the new circuit, the neighbors assembled, cut and hewed the timber and erected the first Methodist church in the Northwest territory. A son of Colonel Moore who died so lately as November, 1884, at the advanced age of ninety-four years, helped to haul the logs with which it was constructed. He was then ten years old. In process of time the log church fell into decay and was abandoned. The members scattered and went to other places for worship; but in the burying ground surrounding it, still sleep the remains of many of the old pioneers. Recently the old place has been reoccupied and a neat frame church has been erected in its stead--a memorial of the faith and work of the fathers.

From this point Mr. Smith proceeded up the Scioto Valley preaching as he went, and on the 14th of October he rode into Chillicothe. Mr. Smith preached in Chillicothe the next day after his arrival; but it was not until the following July that he organized the first society of Methodists in that town. This became an important center in the early history of our church in Ohio, and it gave to the state at least two Methodist governors.

The introduction of Methodism into Cincinnati was on this wise: In 1803 John Collins, at that date a local preacher residing on his farm in Clermont county, came to Cincinnati to purchase salt and happened to enter the store of Thomas Carter. After making his purchase he inquired whether there were any Methodists in the town. Mr. Carter replied that there were, and he himself was one. So overjoyed was Mr. Collins at this unexpected information that he threw his arms around Mr. Carter's neck and wept, thanking God for the good news. He then proposed to preach, and inquired whether there was any place where he could do so. Mr. Carter offered him a room in his own

house and at night he preached to a company of about twelve persons with manifest power and to the great delight of his hearers. Mr. Carter's residence was on Main street, near the river, and in one of its upper rooms were gathered all the Methdists that Cincinnati then had.

Upon Mr .Collins' departure next morning, he promised to use his influence with the preachers traveling the Miami Circuit, adjoining Cincinnati, to take that place as one of the points on their work.

At the western conference of 1803, held at Mount Gerizim, Ky., William Burke was made presiding elder of the Ohio District extending from the Muskingum and Little Kanawha Rivers to the Great Miami and John Sale and Joseph Oglesby were appointed preachers on the circuit named. When Mr. Sale, at the solicitation of Mr. Collins, visited Cincinnati in 1804, he found a small class already formed, consisting of eight persons but not regularly enrolled.

He preached in a public house kept by George Gordon, on Main street, between Front and Second, and after preaching, formed the members into the first properly constituted class, appointing James Gibson leader.

Eight persons composed it, to wit: Mr. and Mrs. St. Clair, Thomas Carter and wife, with their son and daughter (afterwards the mother of Governor Dennison of Ohio) and Mr. and Mrs. Gibson. The town was thenceforward made a preaching place and was visited regularly every two weeks by one of the circuit preachers. The society in Cincinnati prospered and increased; and in 1806 or 1807 they built their first church, a stone edifice on the site of the present Wesley Chapel the north side of Fifth street, between Broadway and Sycamore."

Confirmatory of the statement of Mr. Williams, as to the planting of Methodism in Marietta is the following from the pen of the Rev. Samuel Hamilton of the Ohio conference found in the Methodist Magazine of 1830. He says:

"In 1799 Reese Wolfe, a circuit preacher in Virginia, looked across the Ohio river and contemplated with regret a vast territory with flourishing settlements on which a Methodist preacher had never set foot. The Rev. Robert Manly of the Baltimore

conference, who was his assistant, was sent as a missionary and on the 20th of June, 1799, preached the first Methodist sermon in Marietta."

The following letter is also confirmatory, but gives a little different date:

CHILLICOTHE, O., March 20, 1880.

Rev. Robert W. Manly:

DEAR SIR: — I here send you an important document of your father's family. In looking over my ancient manuscripts by Colonel Flint, which agrees with my early father's of 1788-99. I turned up the following which I engraft in my *Muskingum Pioneer,* which will go to press this year:

Hopewell, Muskingum County, Ohio. — The Rev. Robert Manly, the first ordained Methodist minister of the Northwest, crossed the Ohio river from Williams' Station, opposite Marietta, on the 6th of April 1799; stopping with William McCabe on the stockade. The next day being Wednesday the 7th of April, he preached in McCabe's cabin and closed with a social prayer meeting. He then organized a class of six persons viz.: William McCabe and wife, John and Samuel Protsman and their wives. On the 10th of April he visited Wolf Creek and Waterford and organized two classes. This is a true copy from the original manuscript.

RUFUS PUTNAM."

Some further facts concerning the Rev. Robert Manly may be read with interest:

His remains now lie in the Asbury cemetery, Hopewell Township, Muskingum County, Ohio; though they were deposited first in the Hamilton cemetery, which is located about a half mile east of Asbury church. His son, Jesse L. Manly, had his remains removed and a tombstone erected and he dictated the following words which are inscribed on the marble shaft: "Rev. Robert Manly the first itinerant Methodist minister who preached west of the Ohio River. He died December 20, 1810, in the forty-fourth year of his age."

The Rev. James Quinn preached his funeral sermon, a copy of which may be found in the *Christian Monitor* of 1816.

Summing up the whole matter we find that the first Methodist preaching in Ohio was in Warrenton, Jefferson County, in 1787, by the Rev. George Callanhan. The first preaching in Cincinnati was by the Rev. Francis Clark in 1793. The first preaching at Marietta was by the Rev. Robert Manly in 1799, when a

THE FIRST METHODIST MEETING-HOUSE IN OHIO.

class was formed. In 1798 the first society was formed at Cincinnati and in 1800 the first Methodist Church was built in the North West Territory on Ohio Brush Creek.

The following table gives the date, I think, accurately of the laying off of the principal older towns of the state and it gives the date of the introduction of Methodism in those towns. To some minds there may be seeming inaccuracies in the last named dates for it often occurred, that preaching began in a place, and even a class formed, before the society was incorporated into a circuit.

Names of Cities.	When laid out.	Methodism when introduced.
Marietta	1788	1799
Gallipolis	1791	1817
Chillicothe	1796	1800
Cleveland	1796	1827
West Union	1797	1800
Steubenville	1798	1799
Franklinton	1798	1804
Dayton	1799	1808
Ravenna	1799	1814
Zanesville	1799	1800
Athens	1800	1800
Lancaster	1800	1808
Painsville	1800	1820
Warren	1801	1814
Newark	1801	1810
Cincinnati	1788	1793
Middletown	1802	1818
Youngstown	1802	1803
Lebanon	1802	1805
New Lisbon	1802	1803
St. Clairsville	1802	1803
Xenia	1803	1811
Cadiz	1803	1810
Portsmouth	1803	1813
Springfield	1803	1805
Hamilton	1804	1809
New Philadelphia	1804	1810
Jefferson	1805	1819
Mt. Vernon	1805	1812
Bainbridge	1805	1806
Urbana	1805	1807
Eaton	1806	1810
Salem	1806	1814
Barnsville	1806	1807
Canton	1806	1817
Cambridge	1806	1817
Hillsboro	1806	1806
Chardon	1808	1818
Wooster	1808	1814
Troy	1808	1809
Greenville	1808	1812

INTRODUCTION OF METHODISM—Concluded.

Names of Cities.	When laid out.	Methodism when introduced.
Delaware	1808	1812
Mansfield	1808	1814
Circleville	1810	1809
London	1810	1811
Wilmington	1810	1810
Washington C. H.	1810	1817
Burlington	1810	1817
Columbus	1812	1813
Marysville	1813	1812
Piketon	1814	1812
Somerset	1814	1807
Woodsfield	1815	1815
Norwalk	1816	1818
Pomeroy	1816	1820
Ashland	1816	1819
Jackson	1817	1818
Sandusky	1817	1811
Elyria	1817	1840
New Lexington	1818	1818
Sidney	1819	1824
Georgetown	1819	1819
Batavia	1820	1820
Finley	1821	1829
Tiffin	1821	1822
Bucyrus	1821	1822
Marion	1821	1825
East Liverpool	1823	1824
Toledo	1825	1825
Lima	1825	1824

The expression, the introduction of Methodism, usually means that some pioneer offered to a minister the use of his cabin for services. When the services were held, opportunity to unite with the Church was given; a class was formed of the members and probationers; such classes were never smaller than six persons and if their were much more than twenty the organization was called a society. Often such societies had preaching, at first not oftener than once in two months; then advanced to a sermon each month, then a sermon every two weeks, then once a Sabbath, and finally grew to sustain preaching twice each Sabbath.

This explanation, well understood by old Methodists, will help to solve the apparent discrepancies. as to the date of organizing Methodist Churches.

When the pastor went to the annual conference, he, by the law of the Church, was required to bring a plan of his circuit to be handed to his successor. The following schedule is a sample:

PLAN OF MUSKINGUM CIRCUIT, MADE AUGUST 29, 1823.

Day of the week.	Day of the month.	Preaching place.	Preaching hour.	Distance in miles.	Official list.
Sunday	Sept. 21	Putnam	11	....	Alexander McCraken, } Elders.
Monday	" 22	Rest	..	....	John Wilson,
Tuesday	" 23	Headley's	12	5	Samuel Wilson, } Teachers.
Wednesday	" 24	Simpson's	12	4	Samuel Aikins,
Thursday	" 25	Rest	..	..	John Goshen, } Deacons.
Friday	" 26	Rest	..	....	Martin Tate,
Saturday	" 27	Rest	..	..	John Wilson,
Sunday	" 28	Dickerson's	11	10	Thomas Ijams,
Monday	" 29	Rest	..	....	Elijah Ball,
Tuesday	" 30	Gard's	12	4	Samuel Chapman,
Wednesday	Oct. 1	Wigginbottom's	12	4	John Jordon,
Thursday	" 2	Sain's	12	6	Wm. Armstrong, } Stewards.
Friday	" 3	Springer's	12	6	Wm. Heath,
Saturday	" 4	Lenhart's	12	4	Elijah Collin,
Sunday	" 5	Asbury Chapel	11	6	David Fate,
Monday	" 6	Hitchock's	12	12	Jona Witham,
Tuesday	" 7	Teals	12	7	Robert Aikins,
Wednesday	" 8	Fate	12	5	David Edwards,
Thursday	" 9	Chaplin	12	12	David Butt, } Exhorters.
Friday	" 10	Harris'	2	12	M Putnam,
Saturday	" 11	Hopkin's	12	6	David Sherard,
Sunday	" 12	Aikin's	11	12	James Kelly,
Monday	" 13	Sailors	12	7	
Tuesday	" 14	Edwards	12	5	
Wednesday	" 15	Wesleyan Chapel	12	8	
Thursday	" 16	Wilson's	10	6	
Thursday	" 16	Beall's	3	3	Number of members, 760.
Friday	" 17	Hametta	12	6	
Saturday	" 18	Butt's	11	5	
Sunday	" 19	Putnam	11	6	
				163	

The Baptist Church was the first to organize in the State which occurred in 1790. The Presbyterian followed in 1791 and the Congregationalist in 1796.

As emigrants followed the rivers and the streams, so we find the itinerant minister pursuing the same track. So we see John Kobler in the Miami valley, Henry Smith in the Scioto, James Quinn in the Hocking and Robert Manly in the Muskingum. It was not until 1808 that a town is mentioned, and that is Marietta.

SALARY OF PREACHERS.

By a law of the Church through all these years a single man's salary was $100.00 per year, and a married man's was $200.00. If in the interim between sessions of the annual conference a married man should lose his wife by death, immediately he was placed at the salary of a single man. But in many cases, I fear in most cases, the full amount was not paid. Peter Cartwright reports that in 1806 he received but $40.00. The Rev. T. A. Morris, (afterward Bishop Morris) for twelve of his first years, received an average salary of only $160.00. The Rev. Henry B. Bascom (another who became bishop) in preaching during his first year traveled on horseback five thousand miles, preached four hundred times and received only $12.10. By some means, Adelphi Circuit in 1823 paid its pastor the meager sum of $7.00. In those days Bishop Asbury's salary was only $64.00 per year.

Father Smith who died in Indiana a few years ago, relates that his first twelve years preaching was in Ohio and in Indiana and that the average salary for that term was $27.50, and says there were plenty of people in those days who claimed, that all who preached did it for the money that was in it.

In 1814 the Rev. Jacob Young records that the people of the state got a mania for banking. In that year there were in Jefferson county alone seven banks. This he also says was followed by a fad, to project and lay off towns and cities. In some cases they were located on hill tops, others in valleys, or on plains, and in many cases so near together, that it was only one mile from one paper town to another. Each town had its public square for public buildings. While all the people made sacrifices for the church, yet we must record that the pastors had this virtue in an eminent degree. They have always been as President William H. Harrison characterized them—"A body of men who for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of the duties they undertook are not exceeded by any other in the whole world. I have been a witness of their conduct in the western country for nearly forty years. They are men whom no labor tires, no scenes disgust, no danger frightens in the discharge of their duty. To gain recruits for the Master's service they sedulously seek out the

victims of vice in the abodes of misery and wretchedness. Their stipulated pay is barely sufficient to sustain them while they perform the service assigned them. If in the period I have named a traveler on the western frontiers, had met a stranger, in some obscure way, assidulously urging his course through the intricacies of the tangled forest, his appearance staid and sober; and his countenance indicating that he was in search of some object in which his feelings were deeply interested; his apparel plain but entirely neat, and his little baggage adjusted with peculiar compactness, he might be certain that stranger was a Methodist preacher, hurrying on to perform his daily task of preaching to separate and distinct congregations; and should the same traveler, upon approaching some solitary unfurnished and scarcely habitable cabin, hear the praises of God chanted, with peculiar melody, or the doctrines of the Savior urged upon the attention of some six or eight individuals with the same energy and zeal that he had seen displayed in addresses to a crowded church of a populous city, he might be certain, without inquiry, that it was the voice of a Methodist preacher."

In admitting men into the ministry, the standing inquiry has been, is he called of God; has he gifts, graces and usefulness. And the effort of this branch of the Church has ever been to spread scriptural holiness over the land. The objective point was not to get the people to adopt a creed, so much as to persuade men to cease to do evil, and learn to do well. The leading object was to save men. For this the preachers were ready to spend and be spent. Their purpose was to go not only to those who wanted them, but to those who needed them most.

MANIFESTATION OF ZEAL.

While the lives of these pastors were full of examples of snatching men "as brands from the burning," we here briefly outline one or two as specimens.

One pastor in the midst of a revival season was called out before breakfast to visit those who sought his counsels and prayers, and he made eight pastoral calls to penitents seeking salvation, before eating his breakfast.

Near Ripley, O., the Rev. Granville Moody in company with a class leader by the name of Howard, was out making pastoral visits; while on their way afoot to the home of an aged brother of the Church, they were passing a little grove of trees, through which passed a stream of pure water. There they met the married son of the man whom they were about to visit. He was carrying a sack of potatoes and was in company with his wife and three small children. These young parents were not Christians. Mr. Moody asked the parents if they were in possession of the comforts of religion. The wife answered, they were not, but wished they were. In a little while both parents kneeled by the brook, were baptized and the children were also baptized, a few minutes afterward, and the whole family, in company with the pastor and class-leader, reached the paternal home rejoicing in a new found peace and joy.

Simon Kenton was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, April 3rd, 1755. At the early age of 16 he had an affray with a rival lover, whom he supposed he had killed; and then he made his escape across the Alleghenies and became a companion of Daniel Boone and other early pioneers of Kentucky. He took part in the war against the Indians and the British, and here advanced to the rank of Colonel. Having learned that his rival was not dead, he returned to his Virginia home in 1782, and afterward returned to Kentucky with his father's family. In about 1788, Mr. Kenton became acquainted with Rev. Mr. Finley, and thirty years after that, they met at a camp-meeting on Mad River, Ohio. Mr. J. B. Finley says:—"On Monday morning he asked my father to retire with him to the woods, having gone beyond the sound of the voice of the worshipers, he said, 'Mr. Finley, I am going to communicate to you some things which I want you to promise me you will never divulge.' The reply was, 'If it will affect none but ourselves then I promise to keep it forever.' Sitting down on a log the General commenced to tell the story of his heart, and to disclose its wretchedness, what a great sinner he had been, and how merciful God had been in preserving him amid all the conflicts and dangers of the wilderness. While he thus unburdened his heart and told of the anguish of his sin stricken spirit, his lips quivered and tears of penitence fell from his eyes.

They both fell on the earth and cried aloud to God for mercy and salvation. The penitent was pointed to Jesus as the Almighty Savior, and after a long and agonizing struggle the gate of eternal life was entered. The old veteran sprang to his feet and made the forest ring with shouts of praises to God in the gladness of his soul. He outran Mr. Finley to the encampment. His appearance startled the whole company of people, and by the time Mr. Finley reached the encampment, an immense company had gathered around him, to whom he was declaring the goodness of God, and his power to save. Approaching him Mr. Finley said, 'General, I thought we were to keep this matter a secret.' He instantly replied, 'O it is too glorious for that. If I had all the people of the world here, I would tell of the goodness and mercy of God.' He died in Logan County, April 29th, 1836."

Bancroft the historian well says, "These ministers stood in mountain forests of the Alleghenies and in the plain beyond them, ready to kindle in the emigrants' heart who might come that way, without hymn book or Bible, their own vivid sense of religion."

They had no study, with library gown and slippers. They seized a book wherever it might be found, and read as best they could. Much of the reading was on horseback, and at night, they sat with their backs to the fire on the hearth, and happy were they, if they had a quiet home and plenty of pine knots to replenish the fire with. A stand with a lard lamp or candle was an unusal luxury.

In their work, they knew no rich, nor poor. They sought the people, the *souls* of the people. This was, and is, and always will be, the work of the true pastor.

This seed sowing yielded an abundant harvest, for the poor of our generation are the fathers of the rich in the next..

Also these men did not seek for people in the towns and cities only where churches may more easily be established, but they carefully and conscientiously cared for the people of the rural regions as well. The circuit system was well adapted to supply the wants of the farming districts. This department has also proved remunerative, for now when the people flow from the country into the towns and cities, the Methodistically trained

people reinforce the city churches, by the addition of many of the most valuable members.

Some have asked why did not the early Methodist Bishops send highly educated men into the field? And why did the Church get along without academies and colleges in the West, until 1825, when Augusta College in Kentucky was established?

The Rev. Dr. R. S. Stevenson answers, "Let us ask another question of another arm of service in the world's civilization. Why did not Paul Jones use a modern iron-clad and rapid firing cannon when he compelled the British frigates to haul down their flag? Why, to come closer home, did Oliver H. Perry, the twenty-seven year old commander of the little fleet on Lake Erie, not wait till he could get a couple of ships, fresh from the eastern docks, rather than hasten to the woods near the shore, cut trees and finish out his complement of vessels from the green timber of the woods? He managed somehow to get the word to his superior "We have met the enemy and they are ours." In some such way our resourceful fathers enlisted and drilled a great host that in these later days has had the proud distinction of leading all other denominations of America, in academic and collegiate educational privileges. It is the providential plan of this branch of the Church to train men in the ministry, not for the ministry.

From these causes has come the saying that "Methodism is the most successful movement to save men known in the history of the Christian Church."

From the beginning of this work, the members of the Church were arranged into classes of about twelve persons. Where there was more than one class it was called a society. When a sufficient number of classes and societies were clustered together to support a pastor, it was formed into a circuit. Often there was one assistant pastor, and sometimes there were two. At first the Circuit systems were almost universal, and even when cities grew the Circuit system still obtained for rural societies were attached. As population increased and single congregations were strengthened Circuits were divided and subdivided until the number of appointments now seldom exceed eight. This Circuit system also served as a means of theological training for the young ministers, who were under the watchful eye and counsel

of the older and were thus directed in their studies and all their plans. The exercises of the class meeting, developed and exhibited the talents of the members. The men who seemed to have gifts, grace and usefulness were licensed to exhort, and those in this office who showed proficiency were given license to preach, and served first as local preachers; and from this last named class the conference selected the men for the pastorate. Those who were admitted into the Conference were for two years on trial, so that at the end of this term the members of the Conference might know that they were worthy and adapted to the work. Also the young preacher had this time to consider the doctrine and economy of the Church, and thus know whether he believed the one and was in hearty accord with the other.

THE WYANDOT MISSION.

On this subject we publish here for the first time the very admirable address by Rev. E. D. Whitlock, delivered at Delaware, June 23, 1898:

There is something spontaneous, if not sporadic, in much of Christian work and Missionary enterprise.

There appears to be a holy lawlessness with men, who, animated by a strong and ardent love for the welfare of their fellow-beings, found growing missions and generate new and better civilizations.

And this phase of events possesses a luring power for the man whose imagination is quick and in whose nature there may be a tendency toward adventure and speculation.

History is replete with inspiring surprises and enchanting romances of the beginning and development of schemes for the improvement of peoples; all history is, unless it be those records which concern themselves chiefly with bare dates and with the boundary lines enclosing nations and countries.

And not until one studies history as he would follow the noble stream from its modest source to its great outlet, will the sudden and the unexpected put on the form and face of the prophetic and the providential.

This spontaneity and suddenness in the transpiring of things characterize the appearance and achievements of individual men as well as the occurrence of events epochal and era-making in the world's great annals.

For men, many of them, who have wrought nobly and with glorifying successes in the world, have seemed to come upon us unawares, unannounced and unprophesied.

The skies seem to open and let them down, and lo! before we have time to breathe full and deep, they stride forth and astonish us with

their abilities and deeds; or the ground of circumstance and opportunity and providence breaks open and up they spring, new geniuses to fight battles which shall immortalize their swords, to found new republics which shall emblazon on the granite of events their names, or to inaugurate and establish moral and Christian enterprises which shall embody their splendid personalities.

Prophets and apostles, statesmen and warriors, poets and singers, legislators and orators, benefactors and reformers, teachers and preachers — servants all of the Most High and builders for all centuries — constitute these inspiring surprises of history, appear in the role of persons who have leaped forth from unseen and unknown places to push the world up higher and to lead the race on farther.

From the skies or ground of providence! ah! that explains their presence, accounts for their services to men, solves the mystery of history, and holds the key to that innermost chamber in the palace of events, wherein the spontaneous is seen to give way to an ordained order, the sporadic to a regularity as fixed as central suns, and the sudden to a germinal force in things as certain of existence and animation as that the earth revolves on its axis.

My subject is in part, at least, an illustration of these observations.

Who that reads the history or accounts of the Wyandot Mission has not been impressed with the sudden and the unexpected in the occurrence of marked events and in the development of world wide plans for the race's weal?

With what small things Providence is able to accomplish a great deal! With what feeble forces can he reverse the seeming order and logic of affairs! With what meager and inconsiderable resources can he supply the world with the living bread and the water that satisfieth!

A Christian mission among a few Indians! A man, the missionary, whom none of us would have chosen and commissioned to plant in such apparently uncongenial soil so goodly a tree as now flourishes in all belts of the globe!

It will be impossible within the limits of this brief paper to do more than advert by reference and mention to that tribe of Indians, who, in the providence of God, furnished the opportunity for the founding of a Christian mission, which under the fostering care of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has been elaborated into a scheme of world-wide missionary operations.

Just yonder along the banks of the Sandusky River, in what is now Wyandot County, Ohio, and at Upper Sandusky, the county seat of Wyandot County, in the early years of the present century were gathered and settled a few hundred Indians, called the Wyandots.

For centuries these Indians had made Canada and Michigan and Ohio their hunting and camping grounds; over their hills they had chased the wild game, along their great lakes and water-courses they had kin-

dled their camp-fires, through all their forests they had made the war-whoop reverberate.

We see them around Quebec and Montreal; at Mackinaw and Detroit; along the Ohio and the great Miami; and now at Upper Sandusky.

Originally they were of the family of the Iroquois and the Hurons of the French writers.

When the French settled in Canada this nation or tribe of Indians was in possession of this whole country.

They were a numerous, bold and warlike people, and were considered the strongest and oldest tribe of all the Northern Indians, and consequently were called the "Great Fathers."

In alliance with other tribes they engaged in fierce and deadly warfare with the Iroquois, and were by them finally reduced to a remnant of their original numbers and to a mite of their former strength.

Just at what date or time this tribe established for themselves a camping place and a center of operations at Upper Sandusky, is not known.

But it is definitely stated that by a treaty, concluded at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, September 29, 1817, Hon. Lewis Cass and Hon. Duncan McArthur, Commissioners on the part of the United States, there was granted to the Wyandot tribe a reservation of twelve square miles in Wyandot County, the center of which was Fort Ferree, at Upper Sandusky, and also a tract of one mile square on the Cranberry Swamp, on Broken Sword Creek.

Here for a period of twenty-six years, or until they were transferred in 1843 to a reservation in Kansas, the Wyandots lived, leading for the most part a peaceable life and cultivating the ruder arts of industry.

Their principal chief was Captain Pipe, son of the chief who was so officious in the burning of Colonel Crawford.

At the time of their departure for the far West, some time in July, 1843, the Wyandot tribe numbered between six hundred and seven hundred souls.

Though a bold and warlike nation, the Wyandots were, nevertheless, a humane and hospitable people.

A proof of their humanity is found in their treatment of their prisoners, the most of whom they adopted into their families, and some in the place of their own chiefs; and as a result, the greater part of the tribe was at the time of their settlement at Upper Sandusky very greatly intermixed by marriage with our own people, as the families of Brown, Zane, Walker, Armstrong and others would indicate.

Two or three facts in the history of this tribe furnished a basis for Christian work among them.

In the first place, they had intermarried with the whites, and while this fact furnished the opportunity and the temptation to them for indulgence in many of the gross vices to which their superiors had long been addicted, it, nevertheless, had a tendency to soften in the Indian that wild and savage disposition so universally his trait, and thus render him more readily susceptible to the gracious influences of the Gospel.

In the second place, the religious belief of these Indians constituted a vantage ground in the efforts of the missionary to reach them.

They believed in a Supreme Being. Indeed, some of the accounts concerning them tell us that they believed in two gods, one for themselves and one for the whites.

And, judging from the success the Almighty has had in managing the two races for a long period now, it does not seem at all strange that such a belief of the necessity of *ample* omnipotence for the Red Man and his supplanter should have been one of the religious tenets of the Wyandots.

They also asserted their belief in a system of future rewards and punishments, in the divine inspiration of men, and that God had revealed himself and great truths also to their own prophets with the command to believe and to do them.

As in thinnest soil there may be adequate vitality to insure some beautiful growth, so in the instincts, intuitions, convictions, associations and deeper yearnings of these Indians, there was a basis for Gospel impression and truth; soil to receive the Word of Life and a possibility and promise, though dim, of the Christian life among the Wyandots.

It was to this tribe on their reservation at Upper Sandusky, in the year 1816, that John Stewart found his way.

Stewart was a mulatto, born free, in Powhatan County, Virginia, of parents whose claim was that Indian blood coursed their veins, but of what tribe Stewart was unable to say.

The parents of Stewart moved to Tennessee, leaving their son in Virginia. Some time afterwards he followed them, and later while on his way to Marietta, Ohio, was robbed of all his property.

Stewart had become addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors, and the habit and effects of his intemperance were so marked and uncontrolable that upon one occasion he resolved to commit suicide. But from some cause, he retracted his destructive purpose and was preserved, as if by miracle, to begin a noble and far-reaching work for God and humanity.

Through his early religious surroundings and influences he imbibed a deep prejudice to the Methodists. But one evening as he chanced to pass along the street in the town of Marietta he heard the voice of prayer and song, issuing from a house or building nearby. It proved to be a Methodist prayer-meeting. He drew nearer and listened, and after a

severe struggle with his deep rooted prejudice and his evil conscience, he ventured to go in.

It was not long until, under the melting power of Christian song and the awakening energy of the Holy Spirit, that he was induced to disclose his real state of mind and heart. Upon hearing his recital of feeling and experience these new-found friends persuaded him to attend a camp-meeting, held by the Rev. Marcus Lindsay, near Marietta. Upon that camp-ground and at its rude but consecrated altars the Holy Spirit kindled a divine fire that soon warmed and blessed the troubled soul of Stewart with new and celestial life.

Suddenly he felt himself under an unspeakable sense of heavenly joy and rapture of being. Thrills of peace and rest, as when rich melodies of song pour themselves into the soul of the lover of music, pervaded the whole being of Stewart, producing indescribable experience of pardon and renewal; and John Stewart, an unlearned man, with no antecedent education or training, was born into son-ship with God and thrust into the service of the King of Kings.

Suddenly, then, as if from some one near him, a voice clear and strong began its wooings and behests in the soul of Stewart to an active service in the spiritual interests of his fellow-beings.

He first united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, then he pondered deeply the new and sudden impulse, springing up in his heart to preach.

He then heard a voice as of a woman, praising God, and then another as of a man, saying, "You must declare my counsel faithfully." Christ and His bride were calling him into the kingdom of service.

Then again the voices seemed to call to him from the uorthwest and, without debate or hesitation, he started, led by an unseen hand and commanded by the voice of Him who never errs, to Goshen, a town on the Tuscarawas River. Here he found a Moravian establishment among the Delawares, and from them he learned something of the Indians farther to the north, and in this direction he set out finally reaching the reservation of the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky.

What a task confronted him and what obstacles rose up before him! Himself a fresh convert, possessing no education, save that he could read and write and sing, uninured to such scenes and surroundings as met his eye, ignorant of Christian methods and processes, knowing nothing of the language spoken by those whom he had gone to instruct and benefit--a Saul without armor!

And yet not so; for he had been genuinely and gloriously converted, the Holy Ghost was shed abroad in his heart, he was full of holy zeal and enthusiasm, he had with him the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God, and he felt that he was divinely moved and called to preach.

When Stewart arrived at the Wyandot reservation, he went at once to the house of the United States Indian Sub-agent, Mr. William

Walker, Sr., who at first suspected him of being a run-away slave, but upon hearing from Stewart the simple and honest recital of his conversion and religious experience, both Mr. Walker and his estimable wife, a woman of considerable education and of interesting character, became the firm and lasting friends of both Stewart and his work.

Mrs. Walker, from the fact that she was half Wyandot and because of her strong influence among the nation, was able to render Stewart very timely and valuable assistance, especially in the commencement of his labors.

Stewart, at the suggestion of Mr. and Mrs. Walker, found an interpreter in the person of a colored man, by the name of Jonathan Pointer. Pointer was taken prisoner when a small boy, and through long and intimate association with the Indians had so thoroughly mastered their language as to render him an adept in interpretation.

At first when asked by Stewart to act as his interpreter, Pointer declined, emphasizing his refusal, not only by declaring his religious unbelief, but by ridiculing Stewart's attempts to turn the Indians from their old to a new religion. Afterwards, however, he yielded his objections and consented to interpret for the missionary while he would preach; and thus a skeptic became the unwitting instrument of heralding the blessed tidings of salvation.

Stewart's first congregation consisted of only two old Indians, Big Tree and Mary, and though disheartened at first he continued to preach to increasing numbers, and was soon joyously rewarded for his efforts and faith by witnessing the conversion and reformation of many persons who, because of their position and influence, gave a hopeful impetus to the beneficent work already begun.

Among the first converts under his preaching were Jonathan Pointer, the interpreter, Mrs. Walker and her sons, and the chiefs John Hicks, Between-the-Logs, Mononcue, Scuteash and others whose names are not given.

Stewart continued his efforts among the Wyandots, with occasional intervals of brief absence for a number of years his more active labors, probably, terminating with the year 1821, when through the personal endeavor and generous aid of Bishop McKendree, in giving and collecting funds, a tract of sixty acres of land, adjacent to the Indian reservation was purchased for one hundred dollars and given to Stewart, a patent having been obtained for the land in his own name. Here John Stewart, the founder of the first mission of the Methodist Episcopal Chuch in Ohio, resided until his death, in 1823.

He was buried in the graveyard of the Mission Church at Upper Sandusky amid the dust of many of the red men, whom his voice melodious in song and earnest in appeal had won to a better path and to a holy life.

Many were the difficulties and discouraging circumstances that this heroic and tireless missionary of the cross was compelled to encounter while in the prosecution of his heavenly mission.

One of them was the previous pernicious instruction of the Indians by the Roman Catholics. He found it no easy task to overcome the decided influence which prejudice and bigotry, prevalent through Catholic teaching, had exerted among them.

Another embarrassment was the deprecation, in the esimation of the Indians, of his work and ministerial office, which had been brought about by the presence and persistent efforts of certain missionaries, during a temporary absence of Stewart.

These missionaries, finding that Stewart had won considerable success and favor among the Wyandots, made overtures to him to join their Church, accompanying their proposition with the promise of a good salary.

But he declined their offer on the ground of his objections to the doctrines they held.

They then demanded of him to know his authority as a Methodist Missionary, and as he held no other credentials than an exhorter's license he told them he had none; and thus it became known that he was without authority from the Church to exercise the ministerial office, although he had solemnized matrimony and baptized both adults and children, believing the necessities of the case fully justified his action.

He was partly discouraged by this circumstance and placed at no small disadvantage before the people on account of it.

The traders and missionaries asserted that he was an impostor. Stewart at once determined to remove every cause for such lack of ample authority to carry forward the work in all particulars.

It was now the winter of 1818, and while on a visit to some Indians at Solomonstown, on the Great Miami, he formed an acquaintance with a Robert Armstrong and with some Methodist families that lived near Bellefontaine, Ohio. From them he learned that the quarterly meeting of the Bellefontaine Circuit was to be held near Urbana.

He went at once to the place of quarterly conference, accompanied by some Indians, with a recommendation from the converted chief and others as a suitable person to be licensed as a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Moses Crume being presiding Elder.

A letter published in the accounts of the Wyandot mission, by James B. Finley, and signed by the Rev. Moses Crume, states that the venerable Bishop George was present at the quarterly conference, and approved its action in granting license to John Stewart.

Thus by a church polity sufficiently flexible to be adapted to all emergencies the cavils of would-be missionaries, who sought to undermine the work of this man of God, were forever put to silence.

This mission was made a part of the regular work of the Church at the Ohio Annual Conference, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, August 7, 1819.

The Rev. James B. Finley was appointed presiding Elder this year of the Lebanon District, which extended from the Ohio River to the Canada line, and comprised as a part of it the Wyandot mission.

John Stewart was appointed missionary to the Wyandots, with the Rev. James Montgomery as assistant.

A collection of seventy dollars was raised by the preachers of the conference for the support of the mission, and James B. Finley, Russell Bigelow and Robert W. Finley were appointed a committee to aid the mission.

Shortly after his appointment as assistant to Stewart, Mr. Montgomery was made subagent to the Senecas, and the presiding elder employed Moses Henkle, Sr., to fill the vavancy.

Mr. Finley states in his notes that the first quarterly meeting for the mission was held in the house of Ebenezer Zane, a half white, near Zanesfield, Logan County, O.

Some sixty Indians were present, among whom were Between-the-logs, Mononcue, Hicks, and Scuteash, while Armstrong and Pointer were present to act as interpreters.

Among those who served the mission either as missionaries of teachers, or as both, besides the names already given, were the Revs. Chas. Elliott, William Walker, Lydia Barstow, Jane Trimble, Harriett Stubbs, the Rev. Jacob Hooper and his wife, the Rev. J. C. Brooke, the Rev. James Gilruth and among the last to be appointed was the Rev. James Wheeler from the North Ohio Conference, in 1839.

Soon after the Rev. James B. Finley come to the mission he built a log mission and school house.

In this mission house the Indian maidens were taught to cook, bake and sew, while outside, in the field, at anvil and bench the young men were taught the trades of civilization. This was the first industrial school founded on the continent and it, of course, in Ohio and under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

A few years later, in 1824, a better and more substantial structure was erected of blue limestone from government funds, the Rev. Mr. Finley having permission from the Hon. John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, to apply $1,333.00 to this object.

And here within the hallowed precincts of this modest meeting house for nearly twenty years the Indians met to worship God and within the shades of its sacred walls they buried their dead.

For a while after the removal of the Wyandots to their reservation in the West the building and the grounds were sacredly guarded and kept up, but they were soon forgotten, for none seemed to be charged with the responsibility of protecting this shrine of worship and this sepulture of the dead; and the roof fell in, the walls crumbled, and the tomb

stones, white sentinels by the departed, were allowed to fall down and become the prey of curious relic seekers.

In 1888 the General Conference, at its session in New York, resolved to restore so far as possible the buildings and grounds to their original appearance, and to further and consummate this worthy object the sum of $2,000 was appropriated from the Missionary treasury.

The rehabilitation of this memorable building and these hallowed grounds was begun and completed in 1889, and in September of the same year, during the session of the Central Ohio Conference at Upper Sandusky, appropriate and interesting ceremonies and exercises were observed in commemoration of the Mission and its remarkable history, the Rev. Adam C. Barnes, D. D., presiding and addresses by the Hon. C. C. Hare, Bishop John F. Hursh, D. D., General Wm. H. Gibson, the Rev. L. A. Beet, D. D., and the Rev. E. C. Gavitt, D. D., the Rev. R. B. Pope, D. D., offering prayer, and the Rev. N. B. C. Love, D. D., reading a historical sketch, and Mother Solomon singing a Christian song in the Wyandot language.

There was present on this occasion an aged and venerable woman who lived in an humble home north of the town. She was a full-blooded Indian, the daughter of John Gray Eyes, a noted chief of the tribe. She was born in 1816, and when in 1821 the Rev. J. B. Finley opened the Mission school, Margaret Gray Eyes was the first little girl to receive its instructions.

When the Wyandots went west in 1843, she went with them, but on the death of her husband, John Solomon, some years afterward, she returned to Upper Sandusky, and here amid the scenes and associations that had most largely interested and influenced her life she lived quietly and alone.

Of all the Indians that bade farewell to the dear church, in 1843 she was the only one present at its restoration, and the only one living in Ohio and the last of the Wyandots. Mother Solomon died in 1890 and was buried in the wooded cemetery that surrounds the Church.

Much credit should be given the Rev. N. B. C. Love, D. D., of the Central Ohio Conference for the active and assiduous part he took in preparing the way for this notable occasion, and to secure the property to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Wyandots on leaving for the West conveyed, by deed, the property to the church, but the deed was not recorded.

Dr. Love in the year 1886 while pastor of our Church in Upper Sandusky, found this deed among some worthless papers in an obscure place in the Church basement, and had it placed on record. The deed was signed in behalf of the Wyandots by Andrew W. Anderson, Joseph Cover, Alexander Miller, Alexander Armstrong, Luther Mackrel and Henry Jackquis, principal chief, as trustees, and witnessed by Joel Walker, Secretary of the council, and the Rev. James Wheeler, Missionary.

The discovery of this instrument removed all doubt and dispute as to the title of the Church to the property, and provided an unobstructed path for the action of the General Conference of 1888, whereby funds were secured to renew and renovate the building and grounds and make them monumental of the great work there accomplished in the name of the Master.

The history of the Wyandot Mission and its founder is the history, in epitome, of the visible Church of God. This mission stands for all the great spiritual forces of the Kingdom of Christ, is representative of that burning zeal and restless evangelism which are to overrun the world with the gospel of light and purity, is an embodiment of that spirit of personal consecration and sacrifice, which make martyrs, inspire evangelists, and spread world-wide the civilization of the cross, is a miniature picture of that mighty host and that marching Church that are to make the kingdoms of this world the Kingdom of our Lord and His Christ.

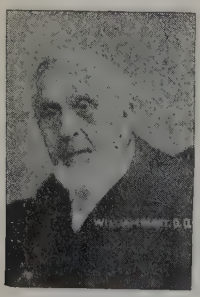
Just think of it! John Stewart an uneducated Negro the spiritual father of some two hundred aborigines within six years from the time he preached his first sermon to two old Indians, the instrumental cause of the moral reformation of more than half of the chiefs in the tribe he was trying to evangelize, the intrepid John Baptist of that great army of missionaries that lead forward the militant hosts of Zion, the inspiration of that tremendous movement which has already awakened the dead senses of the Pagan nations to higher ideals and nobler aspirations.

Hail thou saint crowned! Thou art dead but thou speakest!

Our two and a half million of members are on the tramp, our hundreds of mission stations are keeping guard at the front, the Missionary life of the Church is more than ever divinely animated, and soon the continents of the old world and isles of the sea will clap their hands for joy, praising Him who was dead but is alive forever more!

GERMAN METHODISM.

The Rev. William Nast, who was born in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1807, emigrated to the United States in 1828, and in 1835 was a professor of Greek in Kenyon College, Ohio. In 1835 he became a Christian, and after a severe struggle of mind, attempted to preach to the Germans at Newark and then at Cincinnati.



Soon the work spread. In 1837 he organized the first German society. This work has now extended throughout the United States and has gone back into Germany, Switzerland

Scandinavia, and the results are most marvelous. In less than 65 years we find in America more than 580 Methodist pastors preaching in the German language. And there are in this land more than sixty thousand members and more than forty-five thousand Sabbath school scholars. And in foreign lands there are 197 pastors who have under their watch care 38,000 members and 51,000 Sabbath school scholars. What man in any age can show a greater following wrought out before death than Dr. Wm. Nast? There are not less than 777 preachers and more than 100,000 Church members from this one man's planting.

WHITE BROWN'S BARN.

About the year 1805, one Mr. White Brown, a devout and substantial Methodist, built a commodious barn on his farm, 16 miles north of Chillicothe. It was a part of the purpose of Mr. Brown in putting up this structure, to afford to the people a place for worship in the warmer weather. For many years this building was used for preaching and other services. In the early part of the last century Bishops Asbury, McKendree, George, and Whatcoat, preached in it from time to time as they made pilgrimages through the forests of Ohio. Also Lotspeich, Cartwright, J. B. Finley and Lorenzo Dow preached there. Many of the fathers of the Church in Ross and Pickaway counties were converted there, and very many precious seasons of grace were enjoyed there. After the barn had been used for some twenty years in this way, on a chilly autumnal day, some of the younger people suggested that the community should build a church. Some of the fathers responded: "What! leave the old barn? Never." But in due time a church was built, known as Brown's Chapel.

NEWARK

While the Rev. J. B. Finley was serving the Knox circuit in 1810, he reached Newark. As no home was open to him for preaching, he used the bar-room of a tavern. He says: "When I stepped into the door I found the room full, and many were crowded around the bar drinking. It looked more like the celebration of a baccachalian orgie than a place for the worship of God. But I had made an appointment and I must fill it at all hazards; and as the Gospel was to be preached to every creature my mission extended to every place this side of hell. I procured a stool and placed it beside the door and cried at the top of my voice, 'Awake, thou that sleepest and arise from the dead and Christ shall give thee life.' For thirty minutes I labored to show my audience that they were on their way to hell and as insensible of their danger as if locked fast in the embrace of sleep. When I was done warning them of their danger and inviting them to come to Christ, I took my horse and rode to brother Channels. The bar-room folks sent me word if I came again they would roast me, but notwithstanding I made another appointment to preach in the court house. When the time came I preached in the court house to an orderly congregation and at that time formed a class." This was the beginning of Methodism in the metropolis of Licking County.

GRANVILLE.

In the summer of 1811 a great camp meeting was held on the Thrap farm about a mile east of Irville in Muskingum County. At that meeting both Bishops Asbury and McKendree were present and preached. One Wm. Gavit, of Granville, was present with a ward he had charge of who was an habitual drunkard. Indeed the inebriate was in such a condition that all means failed to cure him. Mr. Gavit was not a believer in Christ himself but he had heard much of the results of conversion to tranform men. So he went to the Thrap camp meeting taking with him this desperate character, who was under his guardianship. The result was before they reached Granville again, or soon after, both Mr. Gavit and his ward were converted. Mr. Wm. Gavit

invited the Rev. Jas. B. Finley to preach in his house in 1811, when a class was formed, the beginning of Methodism in Granville. Mr. Gavit's sons Elnathan and Ezekiel, became noted ministers in the M. E. Church.

FAYETTE COUNTY.

The first quarterly conference ever held in Fayette County was held at the residence of Joel Wood, twelve miles north of Washington, Solomon Langdon was presiding elder. Ralph Lotspeich was pastor and Joseph Hains was assistant. This was in 1811. Two years after this Jesse Rowe, a local preacher, held services in a house near the place, where Sugar Grove Church now stands. The result of his labor was the formation of a class of which he was the leader; the remaining names are as follows: Jane Rowe, Patsy Rowe, Lucinda Priddy, and John King.

About this time the first class was formed in Washington. Daniel Hollis was the first class leader and the Rev. John King his assistant. The names of this primitive class are as follows: Phebe Johnson, Mother Hankins, Tamar Scott, Mary Hopkins, Mary Popejoy, Mary McDonald, Susan Flesher, Samuel Loofborro, Ruda Neely, and Barbara Hubbard, a colored woman. After using private houses as a place of worship for a number of years the court house was used. Then a building on Market street, just west of the former residence of Richard Millikan was used. Afterward a brick church was built near the building last named, but it was poorly constructed and was soon condemned and in 1843 the frame church now owned by Judge H. B. Maynard was built, costing $1,400. Then followed in 1867 the brick on the corner of London and Market street, and finally in 1895 the present structure.

MUSKINGUM COUNTY.

The Rev. Robert Manly was a member of the Baltimore conference. He preached in Marietta, in 1799, the first Methodist sermon in the Muskingum Valley. He was the spiritual father of the Rev. John Collins. In about 1805 he married Elizabeth Hamilton, who was the eldest daughter of William Hamil-

ton, who emigrated from the east to Muskingum County, Ohio, in 1806, and when he reached the farm he had entered, he and his family left the wagon and built a fire and prepared in the unbroken forest their evening meal. After it was served he had family worship in which he consecrated himself and family to God and he dedicated his farm to God. After he built a cabin he invited Methodist ministers to hold services in it. Here the Rev. Ralph Lotspeich preached in 1807 and formed a class which was the origin of Asbury society. This farm is located on the Cooper Mill road, named for Joseph Cooper, who after this event built a mill west of this farm on Jonathan's Creek. In this community the Rev. Robert Manly died in 1810.

Just north of this, and about a mile east of Irville on the Thrap farm, in the year 1811 a camp meeting was held and there were present at it both Bishops Asbury and McKendree. During the meeting Rev. Samuel Hamilton was converted, who afterwards was one of the leading ministers of Ohio. About that time Rev. James B. Finley was the pastor of that circuit and he fomed a class at Dillon's Falls. When he went to that community he found the people given to gross drunkenness. After the pastor had preached and held a few services he formed a class composed of John Hooper, Jacob Hooper, J. Dittenhiffer, and Samuel Gassaway, a colored man. Finally a church was built and Bishop McKendree dedicated it. This was the origin of what is known as Finley society in White Cottage Circuit.

In 1840 the Methodist society at Brownsville was worshiping in Mr. J. Fluke's wagon shop. That year a church was built and the Rev. Samuel Hamilton dedicated it.

COLUMBUS.

In 1814 the proprietors of the city of Columbus, John Kerr and Lyne Starling, Alexander McLaughlin and James Johnson, donated a lot to each of the three denominations in the field at that time, viz.: the Presbyterian, the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodist Episcopal. For the Methodists was selected the lot on which the Public School Library now stands on Town street. The first church building on this site was an unpreten-

tious structure built of hewed logs. The records of the Trustees indicate that the building cost $157.53½.

This structure was occupied as a place of worship in 1815, but evidently was not finished, as the records show that on September 29th, 1817, the Trustees appointed a committee "to have the meeting-house chinked and daubed and under-pinned and to appoint a suitable person to keep it in order."

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN COLUMBUS.

As this was before the days of public school houses, this church was used for school purposes also for some years, and the little society received annually a small sum for rental from the school authorities of the city. This building was only 20x25 feet. In 1818 an addition was put to it of 20 feet. All of this was superceded in 1825 by a brick structure costing $1,300. In 1853 the building now used for a library building was built and when it was enclosed, some seats were improvised and the first State Republican Convention of Ohio was held in it. This building was used until 1891, when the present structure on the corner of Bryden Road and Eighteenth street was built.

In 1829 the first Methodist Sabbath School was organized in this church with fifty-eight scholars.

CHANGES IN CONFERENCE BOUNDARIES.

The Western conference was one of the six conferences of the United States. It was organized in 1796. It embraced all of the North West Territory, Kentucky, Tennessee, and included all our districts in the Mississippi Valley.

In 1812 the Ohio conference was organized and also the Tennessee, from the vast territory once called the Western conference and from this date the last mentioned name disappears from church chronicles.

The Ohio conference then included all the North West Territory and the part of Virginia that is now included in the Western part of what is now known as West Virginia. It also in-

cluded a district in the northern part of Kentucky. In 1816 the Kentucky part was given to Tennessee. In 1820 a few districts from Western Pennsylvania were added. But in 1824 the Pittsburg conference was formed and that embraced not only the districts in Pennsylvania, but several districts in the eastern part of what is now known as the State of West Virginia and one or two

DIAGRAM OF OHIO CONFERENCES 1901.

in Ohio. By the year 1840 the Michigan conference was constituted.

That same year the North Ohio conference was also formed. It embraced that part of the state north of Sidney and Mt. Vernon. It was not until 1850 that the West Virginia conference was formed which embraces the territory now in that state. In 1856 the Central Ohio (at first called Delaware) conference was formed by dividing the North Ohio conference, leaving to the

last named conference the territory east of the Sandusky river and the new conference has the territory in the northwest part of the state, west of said river.

In 1852 the Cincinnati conference was formed by dividing the Ohio conference, giving the new conference the territory west of the cities of West Union and Washington Court House.

Finally in 1876 the East Ohio conference was formed substantially of the Ohio territory once in the Pittsburg conference.

A large part of the Central German conference is in this state and one or two districts of the Washington (colored) conference is in this state.

The outline map on the preceding page gives the boundaries of the five English speaking white conferences.

EARLY REVIVALS AND CAMP MEETINGS.

An address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of Ohio Methodism at Delaware, Ohio, June 23d, 1898, by Charles H. Payne, D.D., LL. D.

The genius of Methodism determined its methods and secured its results. Revivals were and are an inseparable feature of Methodist economy and Methodist life. Indeed, Methodism itself, historically, is a revival. As such it began, grew, flourished, conquered, and as such it will continue to win its extending victories. It was, and is, a quickening of spiritual life, a revivification of dead souls; an application of vitalizing truths to human character and human needs, making the dead to live, and the living to triumph. Broadly viewed, one might say that every church in Methodism was the product of revival efforts, and every success a triumph of the revival spirit.

In all the world Methodism has had no nobler field, and won no greater triumphs than in the royal State of Ohio. In the number of church organizations and church edifices it to-day leads every State in the Union, and in the number of its communicants it is almost abreast of New York, which has a population nearly twice as large. In its majestic march of a hundred years, every step has been taken to the music of genuine evangelism.

All the phenomena of Methodism are accounted for by its essential character, by its Doctrines, its polity and its Spirit.

I. The doctrines of Methodism are a revival of the primitive teachings of the early church. Those doctrines brought to eager hearers deliverance from bondage, they sounded the bugle-call to freedom, to manly independence. Small marvel is it that they met with so cordial a reception and general response. With the glorious truth of freedom the early

Methodist preachers mingled the solemn fact of personal responsibility. The substance of their oft-repeated appeals was: "You are guilty sinners, and need to be saved; you are redeemed sinners, and may be saved today; you are free and voluntary sinners, and must alone accept the responsibility of a refusal to be saved."

These lightning flashes of truth into the minds and souls of men carried conviction deep and pungent, and revivals were a logical result. So long as these fundamental truths are iterated in the ears of men, so long will the same logical results follow. An evangelical church will never cease to bear evangelical fruits.

II. The polity of Methodism also helped to make revivals, with all their increments of numbers and strength, an inevitable result of the proclamation of truth. That polity was always marked by two characteristic features: Aggressiveness and adaptability. Its aggressiveness pushed it to the fartherest cabin on the frontier; it introduced a system of evangelical propagandism of a higher order and a holier character than the world has even seen since the time of the apostles. It put the emphasis on the word *"go,'* and woe betide the church when the emphasis shall be shifted from "go" to "come."

Methodism *went* everywhere, following the trail of the adventurer into the deep forest, and reaching the settlement of the hardy pioneer, on the outposts of civilization. It never waited for royal reception to be given to it; it never lingered for communities to be formed or churches to be built and a formal call to be extended. No adventuresome pioneer could get beyond hearing of its solemn call to repentance and a new life.

The historian of Methodism tells of an itinerant in one of the Southern States wending his way through the deep forest and reaching a little opening where he found a woodman felling trees, having but just reached the spot with time to put up a hastily improvished cabin for his family. The woodman was hailed by the itinerant, who asked if he could preach in his cabin. "What," said the astonished pioneer, "are you here? I lived in Virginia and a Methodist preacher came along and my wife got converted. I fled into North Carolina where I hardly got settled, another Methodist preacher came along and some of my children were converted. Then I went to Kentucky; but there they followed me and I thought this time I would get beyond their reach, and now I have hardly got to this settlement till, here is another Methodist minister wanting to preach in my cabin!" "My friend," said the itinerant, "I advise you to make terms of peace with the Methodist preachers, for you will find them everywhere you go in this world, and when you die, if you go to heaven, as I hope you will, you will find plenty of them there; and if you go to hell, as you will if you don't repent, I fear you will find a few of them there!" The man thought it better to surrender. This incident reveals the aggressive character of early Methodism. May it never lose its aggressiveness.

But its flexibility and adaptability to circumstances were an equally marked feature of early Methodism. It knew nothing of a settled order that could never unbend, even to save a human soul. Its aim was to pull man out of the fires of the hell of sin in this life, and it went where the fires were burning most fiercely, and used such methods as the exigencies of the case seemed to call for. It was seeking results and methods were always a secondary consideration. Hence the introduction of camp-meeting. As revivals had been a logical necessity of Methodism, so camp-meetings were a physical necessity. They were first introduced in Kentucky, in 1798, by two brothers named Magee, one of whom was a Methodist preacher, and the other a Presbyterian preacher. They were not introduced by previous purpose or plan. People flocked to hear the word in such numbers that there was no house large enough to hold them, so they went into the woods, and thus gradually these gatherings took on a more permanent form. Methodism with its ready adaptation to circumstances, grasped the situation, seized the opportunity and utilized this new form of reaching the masses.

With the crude condition of society, unaccompanied by the refining influences of advanced civilization, these meetings were attended by some marked physical phenomena. Men were struck down and fell to the ground in a helpless condition remaining sometimes for hours. This was but an incident of the time, belonging to the period, and passing away with the period. These phenomena were not peculiar to Methodist meetings; they had been observed in England and Scotland, and, to some extent, in the great revival under Edwards in New England. The informalities and seeming irregularities of the camp-meeting brought them into disfavor with our Presbyterian brethren, as they did with the English Wesleyans. But American Methodism, with what we believe to have been a clearer insight and broader wisdom, saw the ephemeral character of the accompanying evils, and the permanent character of the good resulting from camp-meetings, and continued to use most successfully this popular and providential agency for carrying forward its great work in the wilds of the West. The wisdom of this course has been abundantly justified by results. These results are seen in the multitudinous successes, builded into the entire structure of Methodism throughout the whole country. What a splendid pulpit did the camp-meeting afford for the fervid oratory of the *legio tonans*, the thundering legion of that day. Vast masses of people, sometimes estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand, were swayed by the eloquence of those mighty men of God. Jacob Young, J. B. Finley, Peter Cartwright, and many an other of like character, were at their best in these gatherings in the woods. There, too, was Russell Bigelow, seraphic preacher, who charmed and captured his wondering audiences; the classic Thomson with his polished period and energetic influence; the soaring Bascom, who put his audiences into utter amazement that a mortal man could send forth such a torrent of eloquence; John P. Durbin, the weird magician, who held his hearers as

if under the spell of a necromancer; Randolph S. Foster, a very Sampson among pulpit giants bringing down hundreds under a single sermon; and Simpson, matchless orator, under whose burning words the multitudes sprang to their feet and listened awe-struck and spell-bound. But time fails me to name even the leaders of this royal host of preachers. What a battery did the camp-meeting afford for bombarding the forces of Satan, and how the enemy fell under the fire! Fortunate was it for Methodism that she did not discard this mighty enginery of spiritual warfare.

III. But the spirit of Methodism, quite as much as its doctrines and its polity has been a potent cause of its marvelous success. Methodism through all its early years was strongly marked by a passion for saving men. It possessed what has been aptly termed the "enthusiasm of humanity." The weapons by which it has won its mighty victories are prayer and appeal. It besieged heaven and laid siege to the souls of men. Its greatest victories have been won in the closet and at the altar of devotion. That was a significant act when Kobler, the first regular itinerant minister of Ohio, landing on the banks of the noble river, dropped upon his knees and offered a fervent prayer to heaven. That act consecrated to Methodism Ohio's soil, and presaged the glorious victories that have followed.

The great revivals that have marked the history of Ohio Methodism, —and indeed, the Methodism of the whole country, have been inspired, directed and consummated by this dynamic force. That marvelous man of God and pre-eminent revivalist James Caughey, who led many thousands to Christ, traced the secret of his wonderful success to the work done upon his knees in his closet. When but a lad just beginning to preach the gospel, the speaker walked ten miles for the purpose of having an interview with Mr. Caughey. He was chary of his time, and it was not easy to obtain an interview; but once in his presence the lad timidly said: Mr. Caughey, I have walked ten miles that I might learn of you the secret of success in winning men to Christ." He turned his beneficent face toward me, and with intense seriousness replied, "My young brother, it is knee work, knee work, knee work!" That lesson has never been forgotten. It would have been worth infinitely more than the price it had cost a walk of many thousand miles. The fathers of Methodism learned that lesson well, and by its application won victories, and challenged the admiration of the unbelieving world.

There still lingers with us that remarkable soul winner, William I. Fee, who probably enjoys the high distinction of bringing more persons to a personal acceptance of Christ than any other living man.

Has the time come for a change of doctrines, or policy, or spirit? Not in essentials. The doctrines of Methodism are essentially true, and need only restatement in the language of to-day. The fathers preached in the language of their day, and as demanded by their times. So must we. The policy of adaptation we do well to remember and to apply

agencies and methods suited to the demands of our times, as did the heroic fathers in their day.

The spirit of early Methodism that led to its revivals, inspired its entire work, and pervaded all its adherents, is the one pre-eminent essential of present and future success. Has this spirit departed from Methodism? Were the former times really better than these? The revivals of to-day may not be exactly the same type as the revivals of those more primitive times, nor is this essential. Are these revivals in our times as effective, as productive of genuine and abiding results? We believe there are; not only in the churches throughout our whole domain, but in the colleges, the schools, where the flower of the young people of the church are gathered, are these revivals still prevalent. The place in which we are now assembled has witnessed such revivals again and again. We have had the high honor of participating in revivals on this spot, as deep, as genuine, as all persuasive in their spirit, as any in which the fathers have participated, or any that have existed from the days of Saint Paul until the present hour—revivals in which literally hundreds of young people within the course of a few weeks were brought into a living fellowship with a living Christ; and hundreds of others were lifted up into higher planes of consecration and service. Let us not close our eyes to the glories of to-day while we recognize the glorious history of the past.

What of the future? Methodism has but just fairly begun her conquering mission. We hear much about "old fashioned" Methodism, and we honor it; but unless our church has been recreant to her trust, unless she has fallen out of God's plan and order, new-fashioned Methodism ought to be,—and is, of a better type than the world has ever before seen. The old fashion was good, all honor to it. The new fashion must be better, if true to God's call. If there are not always the same manifestations, there may always be equally glorious results. Following the wisdom of the fathers, we must not hold too tenaciously to fixed methods. Methodism adopted the camp meeting thrust upon it providentially and by its adoption won victories. Presbyterians discarded it, and suffered loss. Now in many localities another change has come, and to the camp meeting for purely religious purposes other objects, intellectual, social, sanitary, and even recreative, are added. In this new movement it is significant, also that Methodism led. Martha's Vineyard was the first to change the form to the newer type, and Martha's Vineyard has always been Methodistic. Chatauqua led the way in the new order of summer gatherings. That, too, has its origin in Methodism. Ocean Grove maintains in a permanent way both the new and the old form, being a resort throughout the summer for multiplied thousands seeking its retreat for intellectual, social, or health purposes, while it retains the old fashioned ten days camp meeting with blessed spiritual results,—substantially the same is true of some Ohio camp meetings. The evolution of the camp meeting has caused its adoption in a modified form by our brethren of other denominations. Metho-

dism will do well to hold fast all that is good in this institution, with whatever wise modifications the times may demand.

Never was there such an opportunity as now confronts the Methodist Church; never was there such an imperative call upon her to go forward to her solemn mission in the twentieth century. It would be a great mistake for Methodism to admit the sentiment, sometimes advocated, that a revival church cannot be a complete church, cannot do the full, comprehensive work of a church. That idea is unscriptural, unphilosophical, unhistoric. Methodism from the beginning has united revivals and education. May these holy allies in the work of redeeming men never be separated. Her educational work must be pushed forward in the coming century as never before, but never to the neglect or her revival work, and her revival work must be pushed forward, but never to the neglect of here educational work.

Methodism must also meet the new demands of giving to the world the gospel of personal and of social salvation, and of demonstrating to men that these are not antagonistic, but harmonious and inseparable. The salvation of the individual Methodism must always seek in the future, as she has sought in the past; but she must never forget that the salvation of society, and the bringing in of the kingdom of God, in all that pertains to social order and well-being, is the ultimate end, and that these ends by no means conflict with each other, but are mutually helpful and supplemental.

The Methodist Church above all other churches, ought not to be afraid of uniting spiritual work and social reform work under the same inspiration and direction. No church in the world has more strikingly illustrated the proper blending of all these forms of Christian endeavor than has Methodism. The famous "Holy Club" at Oxford, in which were all the first Methodists, were all cultivated students, tutors and pupils in the greatest of the world's universities, and they were also pietists and philanthropists. They met together to study the Greek Testament, to promote personal piety, and at the same time united in feeding the poor, visiting the sick, and caring for the prisoners. John Wesley began his work in the old "Foundry" in London with almost every feature of a modern institutional church. While revival flames were kindled in every heart, and revival work was in full progress, these early Methodists also maintained a day school for poor scholars, a dispensary, where thousands of poor people received medicine; they furnished skilled surgeons to treat the unfortunate; a reading room; an employment bureau; and a loan fund, not much unlike that which Dr. Greer to-day maintains in New York City. For us in these days, facing the great social problems brought to light in the evolution of society, to turn our backs upon work of this kind for fear that it will militate against the spirituality of the church, is to discount early Methodism, and to set at naught the example of our illustrious Founder. Ohio Methodism enters upon the new century with a heritage of unsurpassed value and with a corresponding resonsibility to

cultivate the goodly heritage and transmit it with large increments to future generations. Never was the call of God more clearly heard than that which now sounds in the ears of Ohio Methodists to go forward. The church so highly honored in the century now completed should imitate the devout Kobler and falling on her knees reconsecrate the soil of Ohio to prominent Christian purposes, and rededicate herself to bring an answer to her own prayers. That reconsecration must surely include the fullness of her powers, and the abundance of her possessions.

There is, indeed, an imperative call upon Methodism, not only in this distinguished state, but throughout the entire connection, to enter upon the new century with a free will offering to God of a generous portion of what God has given to this favored people. Such an offering of fully a million dollars for Ohio, and not less than ten million dollars for the whole connection, would be a worthy commemoration of a distinguished event, and a hopeful prophecy of a century of greater victories yet to come. Let our motto be all for Christ and Christ for all.

In 1798 the Rev. John Kobler was the only Methodist minister in the North West Territory and the total membership numbered ninety-nine. Now there are in

States.	Conferences.	Preachers.	Members.	Sunday School Scholars.	Church Property.
Ohio	5	1,063	231,492	214,889	$ 8,865,481
Indiana	4	659	148,904	124,725	4,014,318
Illinois	4	991	146,344	143,868	8,010,891
Michigan	2	670	79,553	94,418	3,756,245
Wisconsin	2	337	32,559	28,849	1,794,829
N. W. Territory	17	3,120	638,892	606,749	$ 26,441,764

Those who know most of the character and work of the early Methodist ministers of the state will say of the following eulogy, by Rev. Dr. Fletcher Wharton, that it is not overdrawn:

"He helped to make the sour mud-swamps and the bristling brier patch of the early days into the fruitful meadow of to-day. His message and spirit have contributed to the best life of the Republic and have transformed many a wild western settlement into a garden of the Lord. The historian of the future will have more to say of the Christian evangelist of the early times than those of the past have said. These early Methodist preachers,

these circuit riders, who are just now finally disappearing, were providential men. They mysteriously answered to times big with opportunity. They strangely, almost unaccountably, appeared at a critical hour in the life of this young nation. When we have found out all the causes that lie in the springs of human action, we have not then entirely accounted for these men. Think of it. They were in the fields plowing, in the shops manufacturing, behind the counters trading, in the courts pleading, in the sick chamber prescribing, in the woods clearing. They were for the most part men of no special education, men who had grown up in obscurity, without anticipation of great responsibilities and with little thought of anything outside of daily toil.

ASBURY ON HORSEBACK

"Under the sway of an impulse, fitly named divine, they abandoned the plow in the furrow, and the iron in the forge, the goods on the counter, and the ax and the saw, and began to preach. Literally without purse or scrip they go at God's command to the wilderness. They boldly push on from settlement to settlement with fervid trembling lips shouting the message of Christian righteousness and redeeming love to every outpost and human habitation on this continent.

"Future generations will have been made nobler by their message of God's truth, will see as we do not the colossal characters they were. These men who have been, are already coming to be pictured in the imagination of men. In that picture is the noble horse, with proudly lifted head, tossing his mane to the wind with intelligent eyes and wide forehead and broad chest netted with silken veins, sleek limbs and shining flanks, with dainty feet, lightly picking his way over tangled paths. His easy rider is clothed with the old time great coat and leggins and Buffalo shoes and heavy gloves. The bronze of the wind is on his face, his keen eyes flash, his lips set firm and a mild resurrection light in his countenance. Under him are his saddle-bags bulging with clothing and some books for the people—while the

great trees of the forest bow to him as he rides swiftly on to his appointment through the woods.

"The old time Methodist preacher was a providential character. It will take at least another hundred years for the world to find him out. To the world at large these itinerants will stand as civilization builders. These preachers never for a moment let the Nation forget God. Tireless as the feet of love and faith they hurried from community to community, on street corners, and in grove and school house and humble church, preaching Christ, lifting up the standard of the righteous of eternal love. At the impulse of the message they bore to the listening multitudes, wave on wave of revival of Christian feeling and faith steadily swept over the country. With a wild rugged eloquence, almost unmatched in the history of public speech, they pleaded with men against their sins, turning the hearts of thousands toward God. Under the power of their appeals wild, lawless communities, whose pastimes were drunken bouts, whose humor was the brutal infliction of pain, where God and human goodness were almost totally discredited, under the force of the appeals of the itinerant these communities were transformed into societies of beautiful domestic life. And out of them have come much of the strength and the character of the Nation to-day."

THE FIRELANDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY RUSH R. SLOANE, PRESIDENT.

1857–1901.

Early in the spring of 1857, steps were taken to secure a meeting of Pioneers of the Fire Lands for the purpose of friendly reunion, and to devise plans to effect a permanent organization for collecting and preserving a record of the incidents and history of the settlement of the Firelands.

The first meeting was held at the Court House, in Norwalk, Huron County, Ohio, May 20, 1857.

An adjourned meeting was held at the Court House, in Norwalk, Ohio, June 17, 1857, and the draft of a constitution was made and adopted.

After twenty-one years of successful work and many of the pioneers having passed away, it was feared that a few years more would witness the abandonment of the society, and recognizing the fact that while generations are passing away history is accumulating, it was thought best to incorporate the society with its old name, under the laws of Ohio, and this was done on the 9th day of June, 1880, and the home of the Society was fixed at Norwalk, Ohio, at which place it has its library and museum, at present in temporary quarters, but expects in the near future to erect a suitable building for all its purposes, for which object quite a fund is already secured.

The membership of our Society is constituted of annual members who pay one dollar a year in advance, or as a life member five dollars in advance. All members shall be entitled to one copy each of all new publications of the Society issued during the first year of their membership, and by the payment of an additional five, making it ten dollars, in advance, a life member will also be entitled to one copy of *The Firelands Pioneer,* published since 1861. Honorary members may be elected by vote of the Society. And the Society is supported by its membership fees and from the sale of *The Firelands Pioneer.*

The history of the name of our Society often causes inquiry which it is not necessary to explain to our members, and yet we do no injustice to the intelligence of the public by briefly stating the origin of the name "Sufferers Lands or Fire Lands." They embrace a half million acres of land located in the west part of the Western Reserve of Ohio, and were granted in 1792 by the State of Connecticut to those who had suffered loss or damage by fire or otherwise, from the incursions of the British during the Revolutionary War, in Danbury, Norwalk, New London, Greenwich, Fairfield, Ridgefield, Groton, New and East Haven, in Connecticut.

They include all of the Western Reserve townships within the limits of the original county of Huron, as organized and established by the act of February 7, 1809.

On January 16, 1810, Cuyahoga County was organized and Huron County attached to it for judicial purposes. And by the act of January 24, 1824, establishing the county of Lorain, the "Firelands" were again all included in the old county of Huron, and to-day are embraced within the limits of Erie and Huron Counties, excepting the townships of Ruggles, in Ashland County, and a part of the township of Danbury, in Ottawa County. On these lands and on the west bank of the Huron River, about two miles below the town of Milan, over one hundred years ago was founded a Moravian mission, called "New Salem," and was one of the first white settlements made within the limits of what is now the State of Ohio. What a grand and noble record has been given to the world by the pioneer settlers upon these lands.

While these pioneers were felling the forests and building log school houses and churches at the cross-roads, they were often compelled to face the savage Indian in defense of their wives and children and cabin homes, or to join the immortal heroes who gained victory and glory at Fort Stevenson and Fort Meigs, or upon the waters of Lake Erie, under Perry. They have given to our nation in times of war a McPherson, a John Beatty, a Lawton, and in times of peace as well as war as statesmen and financiers, John Sherman and Jay Cooke. As

inventors, an Edison; as artists, Frank H. Thompson and Charles Curran.

In 1857 the pioneers of the two counties of Huron and Erie met at Norwalk and organized "The Firelands Historical Society," the chief purpose of which was to collect and preserve in proper form the facts constituting the full history of the "Firelands" and to secure an authentic statement of their resources and productions of all kinds. The Society, which has a charter, was not organized for profit, and yet no corporation has ever declared richer of greater dividends.

And what has this Society done?

Its meetings, quarterly and annually, have been regularly held. Its publications, thirty-five numbers or volumes, and in number of pages exceeding those of any historic society in Ohio or in the West. These publications, devoted to the early history of the Firelands and of the State of Ohio, include 4,386 pages of valuable early history, most of which was never in print before, and contain full and complete memoirs of thirty-two townships reported by original pioneers in those townships. It has collected valuable books, papers, pamphlets and writings along special lines which cannot now be duplicated.

It has also many bound volumes of newspapers, in which both the local as well as the general history of the State and country is preserved for the use of investigators and historians. Its collection of maps, many made by the original surveyors, will be of great value in settling matters of facts and early land titles.

It has a large collection of genealogy which is often consulted for early family history.

The museum collection embraces a large number of Indian relics, nearly all found within the Firelands. The selection embraces rare fossils and petrifactions which possess great interest to the geologist and student, and tend to confirm the theory that the shores of Lake Erie at some remote period extended further south than they do now.

There are original letters from our early statesmen and warriors, from Generals Washington, Green and Harrison, from Cass and Chase, from Grant and Garfield and from those of the present day.

There are guns and pistols, cannon and rifle balls, musket ball and grape shot, powder flasks and pocketbooks picked up on the battle fields of all the wars in which our country has engaged, and also numerous mementoes of the battle on Lake Erie on September 10, 1813.

During the existence of our Society since May, 1857, it has exchanged its publications with a number of state historical societies, thus spreading broadcast the early and important events of our section of Ohio, both in peace and war, which go so far to make up and complete the grand and glorious history of the state of Ohio's century of growth, and which mark its transformation, step by step, from a wilderness into its present prosperous condition.

In the Society's publications are to be found the able, interesting and eloquent addresses of such pioneer citizens and distinguished men as Eleutheros Cooke, Elisha Whittlesey, E. Lane, Charles Whittlesey, John Sherman, Platt Benedict, Joshua R. Giddings, L. B. Gurley, President R. B. Hayes, General L. V. Bierce, P. N. Schuyler, Clark Waggoner, G. T. Stewart, and others; these addresses being of great interest and value and never published elsewhere.

The industry and work which has accomplished these results and kept this Society alive and active during all these years since 1857, can better be appreciated than described.

Our publications also include the obituaries and memoirs of many hundreds of our pioneer citizens, the most reliable sources of local and state history. These eye witnesses of early events in our state are nearly all gone, and as yet the history of Ohio in the past century has not been written. Taylor, Butterfield, and King have furnished valuable general data concerning the state. Taylor is wholly devoted to the ante-territorial period and the other two giving but few pages to the progress and history of the state during the first century of its existence.

If this glorious and heroic period of Ohio's history is ever written, and it must be, it cannot be full and complete without the papers, maps, pamphlets and over four thousand pages of published reminiscences of the Firelands Historical Society. The

collecting and preserving of these scatterd materials have been and will continue to be the life work of our Society.

With a faithfulness not often equalled, never excelled, our Society has jealously guarded its trust and done its work. The only regret is that more has not been accomplished. But such work as we have done will, we believe, in the words of the German couplet regarding history and its record:

> "Landmarks be these, that are never to perish,
> Stars that will shine on the darkest day."

The following are the present officials of the Firelands Historical Society:

Hon. Rush R. Sloane, President, Sandusky, Ohio.
Hon. S. A. Wildman, First Vice President, Norwalk, Ohio.
A. J. Barney, Second Vice President, Milan, Ohio.
C. W. Manahan, Treasurer, Norwalk, Ohio.
Hon. C. H. Gallup, Librarian, Norwalk, Ohio.
Dr. A. Sheldon, Secretary, Norwalk, Ohio.
Mrs. C. W. Boalt, Corresponding Secretary, Norwalk, Ohio.
Biographer Huron County, Dr. F. E. Weeks, Clarksfield, Ohio.

Board of Directors and Trustees:
The President and Secretary, ex-officio.
J. M. Whiton, Wakeman, Ohio.
Hon. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk, Ohio.
R. M. Lockwood, Milan, Ohio.
D. D. Benedict, Norwalk, Ohio.

Publishing Committee:
Hon. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk, Ohio.
Hon. L. C. Laylin, Norwalk, Ohio.
Hon. J. F. Laning, Norwalk, Ohio.

Biographer Erie County, John McKelvey, Sandusky, Ohio.

OHIO, THE SITE OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

THE SERPENT MOUND, THE HOME OF ADAM AND EVE.

THE THEORY OF REV. LANDON WEST.

[The following article is not exactly archaeology nor history though it contains something of each. It is, however, so unique and entertaining that we reproduce it as it has been given to the public in the daily press.]—EDITOR.

Here is food for the "higher critics," the Egyptologists, archaeologists and the Biblical students of all classes. The Garden of Eden, it seems, is now definitely located. The site is in Ohio, "Adams" county, to be more precise. The discoverer is the Rev. Mr. Landon West of Pleasant Hill, also in Ohio.

The famous Serpent Mound of Ohio is the key to the whole discovery, according to the *New York Herald.* No object that has ever been discovered possesses for archaeologists such intense and varied interest as this curious earthwork. Since 1849, when it was first accurately surveyed by Messrs. Squire and Davis, it has been a Mecca for archaeologists from all parts of the world. Volumes have been written about it, and every theory conceivable by the mind of man has been advanced as to the purpose of the vast work. Now, it has a new and vivid interest.

It has been called a shrine and an alter, a cemetery and a place for worship, it has been shown to be an idol and a place where human beings were sacrificed — all to the perfect satisfaction of the learned persons making the various guesses.

The character of this mound is so unique and totally different from any of the other remains of earthworks left by the so-called Mound Builders that every utterance made in relation to it instantly attracts the notice of the scholars. Professor Putnam of Harvard university prepared an exhaustive account of the mound and gave his theory as to its significance. It was through his efforts that the mound was saved from total destruction. In 1887 he visited it for the first time and was powerfully impressed with

its tremendous significance. He impressed the college authorities with the value of the mound, and later it passed into the possession of the college. Later in 1889, it was formally presented by Harvard college to the State Archaelogical and Historical society of Ohio.

Professor Putnam conducted extensive explorations in the hope of learning the true character and significance of the work, and made examinations which revealed something of the great age of the mound. It is held by some that undoubtedly it was old before the Chinese wall was built and that it was finished and disintegrating when the children of Israel slaved in Egypt. It is also probable, judging from the condition of the soil that covers the figure, that it was part of the "things universal" that were overwhelmed by the flood.

The Rev. Landon West of Pleasant Hill, O., a prominent and widely known minister of the Baptist church, has just outlined a theory concerning the creation and significance of the mound widely different from all those of the scientists. He believes that the mound itself was created by the hand of the Creator of the world, and that it marks the site of the Garden of Eden. He believes that the mound is purely symbolical and has no significance relative to the religion or worship of any race of men, but is intended to teach by object lesson the fall of man and the consequences of sin in the Garden of Eden.

The Rev. Mr. West was born and lived to manhood near the mound. Early in life he conceived the idea that the mound was not an object of worship nor a place of sacrifice, nor for interment, nor yet a spot where the tribes of the earth came together to discuss the affairs of the primitive nations. He conceived it to be a mighty object lesson to give expression to some great event that had occurred in the history of mankind. If intended for an object lesson, its meaning was too plain and palpable for discussion or argument. Plainly it was meant to illustrate the "first sad event" in the Garden of Eden, the deception of the woman by the serpent, and man's subsequent expulsion from the Garden and all the attendant ills of sin, pain and death. All of these, he maintains, are adequately expressed by this Serpent Mound.

The jaws of the serpent are wide open, as if in the act of swallowing the oval-shaped fruit there situated. The Rev. Mr. West declares that it represents the fruit with which Satan beguiled and tempted Eve. It is a very good representation of a gigantic plum or lemon or some such fruit as grows upon a tree. The Bible refers to the fruit of the tree with which Satan, that old serpent, did tempt Eve by telling her it was good to eat. How could this very idea and circumstance of deception be better represented on the part of a serpent, inquires this scholar, than to show it in the act of itself eating fruit, when it is well known that serpents do not eat fruit? The Rev. Mr. West maintains that the situation of this oval object, which scientists term an altar, at the wide open jaws of the serpent would appear to deny their claim that it is an altar. Reason indicates a contrary theory; that the open jaws were meant to betray the purpose of the serpent to swallow the fruit. Else why should the jaws be open? The only meaning of the open jaws, he asserts, is to show the intention of the serpent to swallow the fruit. This portion of the mound represents the deception; the writhings and twisting of the body indicate the pangs of death and physical suffering.

It would seem that this perplexing and mysterious image was created to express an idea, and is, therefore, purely symbolical. What it symbolizes can be surmised only from the image itself and any supporting history that may be found. If it be conceded that the serpent mound is symbolical of man's fall in the Garden of Eden, and the Rev. Mr. West, after years of study, is confident that it expresses no other lesson, then the question arises, how did this prehistoric race obtain knowledge of that event?

The Rev. Mr. West arrives at the conclusion that this great work was created either by God himself or by man inspired by Him to make an everlasting object lesson of man's disobedience, Satan's perfidy and the results of sin and death. In support of this startling claim the Rev. Mr. West quotes Scripture and refers to Job 16:13: "By His spirit He hath garnished the heavens; His hand hath formed the crooked serpent."

He also applies the discoveries of Professor Putnam to establish his theory. Professor Putnam learned that the depth of

soil on the image was equal to that covering the surrounding country and was of similar properties and composition. This important discovery justified the statement that the work itself had been created prior to the formation of the soil which now covers the earth. This discovery, however, by no means fixes the time of the serpent's creation. It merely establishes the fact that the soil covering the image had never been disturbed by the hand of man. The tremendous ridge which constitutes the superstructure, if it may be so called, must have been formed long before the beginning of the slow process of the soil formation by nature in her never ending task of creation.

That the mound is co-existent with the hills and valleys that surround it and make the vicinity a veritable paradise of beauty is not claimed by the Rev. Mr. West. But the scientists have shown that it is older than the soil that gives life to the trees and verdure, and therefore, according to general belief, it must have been washed by the waves of the flood, since the agent removed the antediluvian soil from its resting place. The Rev. Mr. West does not claim that the image was created in the day when the world was made, but subsequently, when the Creator desired to place before the eyes of mankind an object lesson expressive of the power and wiles of Satan as manifested in the Garden of Eden, and at the same time and in the same image to portray the pains and penalties of sin and the enduring pangs of death.

The noble dimensions and perfect proportions of this majestic figure suggest to his mind the hand and intelligence of a divine Creator with limitless resources. It is on a high ridge or rocky cliff that thrusts itself into the peaceful and lovely valley like the prow of some mighty ship into a calm sea. The ridge points to the north and extends back into a smiling land suggestive of peace, happiness and security. The head of the serpent lies upon the point of rock and the winding coils of the body reach back a thousand feet to the south, where the tail terminates in coils thrice repeated. The oval object, representative of the forbidden fruit, is a hundred feet long and has a depression in the center. The size of the jaws is proportionate to the size of the figure, exact as in nature, which has been ascertained by measure-

ments of living serpents. The surrounding country is beautiful beyond description. Rich valleys stretch away beside three shining streams, which converge near the great serpent. These three streams are interpreted as typical of the Holy Trinity — Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

The image portrays the desception in the attitude of the serpent in the act of eating fruit; pain and death are shown by the convolutions of the serpent, just as the living animal would betray pain and death's agony. The third chapter of Genesis is the only written history the world has of the fall of man and the cause that brought about his ruin. There are other references to it in the prophecies and revelations and all of these accounts agree and compare in a singularly close way, this student says, with the lesson imparted by the great serpent. That this remarkable conformity could have been effected by beings ignorant of the great lesson actually symbolized, Mr. West holds, is ridiculous. That the image antedates the arrival on this continent of any European discoverer who could have brought the story of the creation and of man's fall is likewise an assured fact, he declares.

After many years he learned that the Bible nowhere says that the Garden of Eden was located in Asia, and that its statements will not conflict with the theory that the Garden was actually in the Western hemisphere. The events of Eden occurred at a very early time in the history of the world, long before the time described by any historian. Moses is the only writer of history who describes the Garden of Eden and the events that occurred therein. The time when he wrote was 2500 years after the creation. He received this information from no written word, but from the inspiration of the Lord. No man was alive who knew it before Moses. The Rev. Mr. West affirms it to be his belief that the figure of the serpent was drawn by the hand of the Creator, and that America is, in fact, the land in which Eden was located. Note Genesis 2:8; II Kings 19:12; Ezekiel 27:23; 28:13; 31:8, and 29:18.

A curious and not unimportant consideration in connection with the mound is the fact that a crook was made in the northern line of the county containing the figure in order that the entire

work might be contained within the county, which was established in 1790.

"This figure," says Rev. Mr. West, "is the most ancient record of history known to exist. It shows first sin and its immediate results as Moses also records them, and up to the time of the flood, which occurred in the year of the world 1655, it gave an actual object lesson and record of Eden and its events. But after the flood and until Moses, in the year 2500, the record of the creation, of the fall of man, of death, and of the flood, as well as of all other events retained till now of the history of the world, was taught and obtained only by tradition. Yet during all that time this perfect illustration of thought and of history was in existence, created beyond doubt to portray the one sad event and to mark the spot where God's Word and that form of teaching were first given to the human family. All that Job says of the event he learned by tradition, and no less than 2500 years after its occurrence.

"All that education, science, history, revelation and art can do to illustrate the thoughts of intelligent beings either on earth or in heaven has not been found to excel in clearness this serpent image in setting forth the one event in Eden's garden.

"This serpent figure was made long before the first copy of God's book was printed, yet it supports the written or inspired history of the human race. Will any one say that those who designed the serpent mound did not have in mind the event of sin and death as it occurred in the Garden of Eden?"

VIEW OF PROFESSOR W. J. M'GEE OF THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.

The serpent mound is prehistoric. We do not know just how old it is, but we may judge that it is not more than 1000 years old, nor less than 350 years. It was built, presumably, by the Indians who occupied that region at the time when it was first discovered by the whites. The white pioneers found the presumptive descendants of the builders of the serpent mound still in possession of the territory on which this mighty monument to their ancestors' religious faith had been erected.

Of the important place which religion held in the lives of these people we may judge from the mighty monuments they left

behind them as memorials of their faith. Much of their time was occupied by a series of elaborate ceremonials, celebrated annually, in the course of which they danced, feasted and busied themselves with the building of mounds. Quite frequently these mounds were gigantic effigies of animals, and in this fashion were represented the bear, wolf, otter, eagle, crow and other animal "totems" or tutelaries of the class and tribes: the largest of all is the serpent mound of Adams county, Ohio, which is about 1000 feet long.

These effigy mounds do not seem to have been built for burial purposes. In the serpent mound nothing worth mentioning has ever been found. The mounds are purely symbolic. The snake was sacred, an object of veneration or worship; so, likewise, were the other animals represented. Savages commonly attribute to wild beasts special potencies, associating them with the supernatural, and extend toward them a kind of worship.

It is probable that the building of the serpent mound extended over a number of years, and that the work was taken up annually, on the occasion of a certain festival. Thus it underwent a progressive enlargement and extension through a considerable period, the plan growing as the structure developed. Judging from the observed habits of Indians, the method of construction was simple, women bringing the earth in baskets on their backs, and the men managing and superintending the task. Incidentally there were feasting and dancing; it was all part of a ceremonial corresponding in character to the "Green Corn Dance" of the modern Iroquois or the "Dog Feast" of various Algonquin tribes.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM McKINLEY.

MAIN EVENTS IN HIS LIFE.

William McKinley was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, and was descended from Scotch and Irish ancestry. James and William McKinley, the heads of the two branches of the McKinley family in this country, one in the Southern, the other in the Northern States, came from the north of Ireland. James was the father of David McKinley, the great-grandfather of the late President.

James McKinley settled in York County, Pennsylvania. His son, David McKinley, served with honor in the Colonial army in the Revolutionary War. David's second son, James, married Mary Rose. The Roses were of English extraction. To James and Mary Rose McKinley were born twelve children, of whom William McKinley, the father of the President, was the second child. He was born November 15, 1807, in Mercer County, Pennsylvania. He moved to Canton, Ohio, and when he was twenty-two years of age he was married to Nancy Allison, by whom he had nine children, the late President being the seventh child.

At the time of President McKinley's birth, his father was managing an iron furnace at Niles, Ohio. Later the family removed to Poland, Ohio, where William McKinley, Jr., attended the public school and the academy, an institution of advanced grade for that period. He applied himself to his studies with such diligence and success that at the age of seventeen he taught a term of school in what was then known as the Kerr District. The funds he acquired by teaching he expended for further tuition for himself and other members of the family in the Poland Academy. He was hardly sixteen years of age when he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He at once took up the duties of a Christian life and faithfully filled them to the end. At the age of seventeen he entered the Allegheny College, but his health becoming impaired, he shortly returned to Poland.

At the commencement of the Civil War he was among the first to enlist. With him enlisted his cousin, William McKinley Osborne, now General Osborne, the American consul-general in London, who gives the following account of their enlistment:

"There was great excitement at that time, and hundreds of people followed the soldiers. Will and I were among them. We drove in a buggy over to Youngstown, and there saw the company leave for Columbus. On our way back to Poland that night we discussed the matter together and decided that it was our duty to volunteer, and we thought that the men who staid would be despised by the community.

"When we reached home Will told his mother what we had concluded to do, and she at once replied: 'Well, boys, if you think it is your duty to fight for your country, I think you ought to go.' A few days after ths I left Poland for home, and told father that I wanted to go to the army. I knew he would allow me to go, as Aunt Nancy advised. I was not disappointed. My father was a Democrat, but he was a liberal man. He told me I could do as I wished, and he gave me some money (it was gold, I remember) to fit me out. Will McKinley left Poland, and we went to Cleveland together. From there we went to Columbus and enlisted at Camp Chase. General Fremont swore us in. Our enlistment was in cold blood, and not through the enthusiasm of the moment. It was done as McKinley has done the most things of his life, as the logical offspring of careful conclusion."

Young McKinley soon distinguished himself for courage and ability. At a gatherng at Lakeside, Ohio, July 30, 1891, the late Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes told the story of the young soldier's spirit and exploits.

"Rather more than thirty years ago," said General Hayes, "I made the acquaintance of Major McKinley. He was then a boy, had just passed the age of seventeen. He had before that taught school, and was coming from the academy to the camp. He with me entered upon a new, strange life—a soldier's life—in the time of actual war. We were in a fortunate regiment—its colonel was William S. Rosecrans—a graduate of West Point, a brave, a patriotic, and an able man, who afterward came to command great armies and fight many famous battles. Its lieutenant-

colonel was Stanley Matthews—a scholar and able lawyer, who, after his appointment to the Supreme Bench, the whole bar of the United States was afterward convinced, was of unsurpassed ability and character for that high place.

"In this regiment Major McKinley came, the boy I have described, carrying his musket and knapsack.

"Young as he was, we soon found that in business, in executive ability, young McKinley was a man of rare capacity, of unusual and unsurpassed capacity, especially for a boy of his age. When battles were fought or service was to be performed in warlike things he always took his place. The night was never too dark; the weather was never too cold; there was no sleet, or storm or hail, or snow or rain that was in the way of his prompt and efficient performance of every duty.

"When I became commander of the regiment, he soon came to be upon my staff, and he remained upon my staff for one or two years, so that I did literally and in fact know him like a book and loved him like a brother. From that time he naturally progressed, for his talents and capacity could not be unknown to the staff of the commander of the Army of West Virginia, George Crook, a favorite of the army he commanded. He wanted McKinley, and of course it was my duty to tell McKinley he must leave me. The bloodiest day of the war, the day on which more men were killed or wounded than on any other one day, was September 17, 1862, in the battle of Antietam.

"The battle began at daylight. Before daylight men were in the ranks and preparing for it. Without breakfast, without coffee, they went into the fight, and it continued until after the sun had set. The commissary department of that brigade was under Sergeant McKinley's administration and personal supervision. From his hands every man in the regiment was served with hot coffee and warm meats, a thing that had never occurred under similar circumstances in any other army in the world. He passed under fire and delivered with his own hands, these things, so essential for the men for whom he was laboring."

The records show that William McKinley, Jr., enlisted as a private in Company E of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, on June 11, 1861; that he was promoted to commissary ser-

geant on April 15, 1862; that he was promoted to second lieutenant of Company D on September 23, 1862; that he was promoted to first lieutenant of Company E on February 7, 1863; that he was promoted to captain of Company G on July 25, 1864; that he was detailed as acting assistant adjutant-general of the First Division, First Army Corps, on the staff of General Carroll; that he was brevetted major on March 13, 1865, and that he was mustered out of the service on July 26, 1865.

"For gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Opequan, Cedar Creek, and Fisher's Hill," reads the document commissioning young McKinley as brevet-major, signed, "A. Lincoln."

On his return to Ohio at the close of the war, McKinley entered upon the study of law in the office of Judge Glidden at Poland, and later pursued a course in the Law School at Albany, N. Y. He was admitted to the bar in 1867, and then began the practice of his profession at Canton, Ohio, henceforth to be forever associated with his name as the center of a home-life truly ideal. He was united in marriage to Miss Ida Saxton, of Canton, January 25, 1871. Two children, both of them girls, were born to them. Both died in early childhood.

Only two years after taking up his residence in Canton, Mr. McKinley received the Republican nomination for prosecuting attorney, and though the county was hopelessly Democratic, he was elected. He was elected to Congress in 1876, and served continuously from 1877 until March, 1891. He was elected governor of Ohio in 1891, and re-elected in 1893 by a plurality of 80,995. He was elevated to the Presidency, November 3, 1896, and re-elected November 6, 1900. His administration covers the most eventful and important chapter in our National history since the period of the Civil War. Under the guidance of his firm but benign hand the Nation has entered upon a new era of abounding prosperity and world-wide prestige.

GENEALOGY OF WILLIAM McKINLEY.

BY REV. A. STAPLETON.

[The following genealogical sketch of President McKinley was prepared by the Rev. A. Stapleton, of Carlisle, Pa. We give it as it was originally published in the *New York Sun.*]—EDITOR.

"It should be a matter of regret to all true historians that the campaign histories of President McKinley were erroneous in several important genealogical details. The data herein given may be relied on as correct, as they are the result of researches in the court records and other authorities still extant.

"The ancestors of President McKinley belong to that sturdy race of people called the Scotch Irish, so called because in 1607 King James I located a large number of Scots in the northern part of Ireland on lands from which the Irish had been evicted. These settlements were gradually augmented by immigration until eventually the Scotch-Irish element predominated in this region. They were staunch Presbyterians in faith and in the course of time developed traits and peculiarities so marked as to almost stamp them as a distinct race.

"In course of time this noble people were overtaken by many hardships, which as the successive failure of crops, besides very unsatisfactory civil and religious conditions. Their only source of relief was in immigration to America, in which they were encouraged by agents of the American colonies. After 1715 the immigration became very extensive, the chief port of arrival being New Castle on the Delaware, below Philadelphia.

"The Scotch-Irish being citizens of the British realm their arrival is not a matter of record like that of the Germans, Swiss, Dutch, etc., who are designated as foreigners in the colonial records, and were required to subscribe to an oath of allegiance upon arrival, besides a subsequent naturalization. Hence it follows that citizens of the realm are more difficult to identity than foreigners by the historian. Our only recourse is in tax lists, land warrants, court records, etc.

"In the case of President McKinley, we have an undisputed record to his great-grandfather, David McKinley. We know that he was a revolutionary soldier, that he was born in York county, Pa., that he removed to Westmoreland county after the revolution, and in 1814 to Ohio, where he died. In the cemetery of the Chatfield Lutheran church in Crawford county, Ohio, may be seen two modest granite markers with the following inscriptions: 'David McKinley, Revolutionary Soldier. Born 1755; died, 1840,' and 'Hannah C. Rose, born 1757; died, 1840.'

"David McKinley was the father of James, born September 19, 1783, married Mary Rose, of Mercer county, Pa., and removed thence to Chatfield, where he purchased a farm, on which he died. He was the father of William McKinley, sr., born in 1807, and died in Canton, Ohio, in 1892. The latter was the father of President McKinley. Hannah C. Rose, buried by the side of David McKinley, was the great-grandmother of the president. She was also the great-grandmother of former Mayor Rose, of Cleveland.

"For the history of the family prior to David, the soldier, we must rely on the court house records at Lancaster, and York, Pa. From various documents and entries we think the evidence incontrovertible that David McKinley, the head of the clan McKinley in America, landed at New Castle, and located in (now Chanceford township, York county, Pa.), in 1743. At that time he was well along in life. He was accompanied by his wife, Esther, and three sons, John, David, Stephen, and a daughter, Mary. There are frequent references to these sons in the county archives.

"The immigrant was a weaver by trade, but, like all thrifty artisans of that day he secured a good homestead. It is possible, but not probable, that he arrived in the province earlier than 1743, but in this year his name first appears on the records in a warrant for 316 acres of land on a beautiful elevation overlooking the Susquehanna river in the distance.

"That he was a man of enterprise is shown in the fact that in 1749 he circulated a petition for a public highway, which he also presented to court. The following year he was made supervisor and doubtless had the task imposed on himself to engineer his

road to a completion. His name occurs frequently in the most honorable way, showing him to have been a man of unusual probity and worth as a citizen.

"David McKinley, the immigrant, died intestate in 1757, leaving his wife and children as already named. His daughter was intermarried with Samuel Gordon. The settlement of the estate shows personal property to the value of £220, or $1,100, besides the plantation, which was divided. Later, however, the son John (who, with his mother, was the executor), purchased the entire estate.

"This leads us to the consideration of the second generation, viz., John McKinley, eldest son of the immigrant. Before entering upon details we here throw out the precautionary statement that the names McKinley and McGinley are both contemporaneous and interchangeable in our early records, owing to the carelessness of scribes. They were however separate families in York county. The McGinleys proper came from James McGinley, who died in York county in 1755, leaving an only son John. No relationship is known to have existed between the families, although remotely it might have been the case. The president's ancestors, so far as we have ascertained, always wrote their name as now.

"Resuming our narrative of the McKinleys, John, son of the immigrant, was born about 1728 and in his day was one of the foremost men of York county. He became a large landowner and frequently figures in important business transactions. When hostilities broke out with the mother country he staunchly supported the revolution and was made wagonmaster for Chanceford township by the committee of safety. He died on his estate February 18, 1779, being survived by his widow Margaret, an only son David, great-grandfather of the president, and daughters Esther, Jean, Elizabeth and Susan. The widow subsequently married Thomas McCulloch. She died in the winter of 1781.

"This leads us down to David McKinley, grandson of the immigrant and great-grandfather of the president. He was born on the old homestead in Chanceford township, May 16, 1755. In 1776 he enlisted in Captain Reed's company of Ferrymen in the war of the revolution. This was the Seventh company of the

Eighth battalion of York county militia. The militiamen, it should be remembered, were called out in emergencies and were drafted in sections for active service, making what were then called tours of service. In this way nearly all the militia of Pennsylvania saw many tours of service, much hard fighting, and the most perilous kind of military life.

"The local historians of York county had been in correspondence with the president respecting his York county antecedents. He had expressed himself as much gratified by their researches and interest in his ancestry and faithfully promised at an opportune time to visit the scenes of his ancestral abode. Several dates for the proposed visit were partly agreed on, and great preparations for the visit were in prospect, when the critical events preceding the outbreak of the Spanish war compelled successive postponements of the visit.

"As a matter of interest we may add that a muster roll of the company of which his great-grandfather was a member, and ever since the revolution in the possession of the descendants of Colonel John Hay, was some years ago presented to the president and received by him with many expressions of delight and satisfaction."

LINE OF DESCENT OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY FROM MACDUFF, THANE OF FIFE.

(From "The Scotch Ancestors of President McKinley.")

1. Duncan MacDuff, Maormor of Fife, born about A. D. 1000; killed Macbeth December 5, 1056.

"Lay on Macduff!
And damn'd be him that first cries 'Hold, enough!'"
—Shakspeare's Macbeth.

2. Dufagan MacDuff, styled second Earl of Fife.

3. Constantine MacDuff, styled third Earl of Fife, died 1129. Judiciary of Scotland, "a discreet and eloquent man."

4. Gillimichael MacDuff, fourth Earl of Fife, died 1139.

5. Duncan MacDuff, fifth Earl of Fife, Regent of Scotland, 1153, died 1154.

6. Seach (Gaelic for Shaw) MacDuff, died 1179. Commander of the army of King Malcolm IV, which quelled the Insurrection of Moray, 1161. Called Mac-an-Toi-sic (son of the chief of foremost), which

became the surname of the family. Founder and first chief of Clan MacIntosh. Married Giles, daughter of Hugh de Montgomery, and had

7. Shaw Oig (the younger) MacIntosh (died 1209 or 1210). Second Chief of Clan MacIntosh and governor of the Castle of Inverness for 30 years. Battle of Torvain. Married Mary, daughter of Sir Harry de Sandylands and had three sons, of whom

8. William MacIntosh married Beatrix Learmouth and had

9. Shaw MacIntosh, fourth Chief of MacIntosh, who married in 1230, Helena, daughter of William, Thane of Calder, and died in 1265. "Cumhadh mhic a' Arisaig."

10. Farquhar MacIntosh (killed in duel, 1274), fifth Chief of Clan MacIntosh; MacIntosh warcry, "Loch na Maoidh." Married Mora of Isla, daughter of Angues Mor and sister of Angus Oig, the "Protector of Bruce."

11. Angus MacIntosh or Angus mac Farquhard, born 1268, died 1345; married in 1291-2, Eva, daughter and heiress of Gilpatrick, the son of Dugall Dall, who was son of Gillichattan-Mor, the founder of Clan Chattan, and became captain or leader of the Clan Angus, was a staunch supporter of Robert Bruce and took part in the famous battle of Bannockburn, in 1314.

12. Ian (Gaelic for John) MacIntosh.

13. Gilchrist MacIntosh, sometimes called Christi–Jonson or Gilchrist mac Ian (Gilchrist, son of John, from which comes the name of Johnson).

14. Shaw Mor (Great) MacIntosh, or Mackintosh, whose pedigree is given in the ancient manuscripts as Shaw mac Gilchrist mac Ian mac Angus mac Farquhar, etc. (Mac being the Gaelic for son), was leader of the victorious thirty at the battle of the North Inch of Perth, 1396, which Sir Walter Scott so graphically describes in his "Fair Maid of Perth."

15. Seumas (James) Mackintosh, the Chief of the Clan, killed at memorable battle of Harlaw, 1411, "the final contest between the Celt and Teuton for Scottish independence." Ballad: "There was not sin' King Kenneth's days," etc.

16. Allister Ciar Mackintosh obtains the estate of Rothiemurchus by deed, 1464, and is called "Shaw of Rothiemurchus"; married a daughter of "Stuart of Kinkardine."

17. Fearchard (Farquhar) Mackintosh, forester to the Earl of Mar, appointed Hereditary Chamberlain of the Braes of Mar, 1460-1488. Married a daughter of Patrick Robertson, first of the family of Lude, Chief of Clan Robertson or Clan Donnachie, descendant of "Erle Patryk de Atholia." His sons called Farquhar-son.

18. Donald Farquharson. The Piobrachd. Rallying cry of Clan Farquharson, "Carn na Cuimhne." Motto: "Fide et fortitudine." Married a daughter of Robertson of the Calvene family.

19. Farquhar Beg (Gaelic for little), married into the family of Chisholm, of Strath Glass. Erchless Castle, the family seat.

20. Donald Farquharson married Isabel, only child of Duncan Stewart, commonly called Duncan Downa Dona, of the family of Mar.

21. Findlay (Gaelic Fionn–laidh), commonly called Findlay Mor, or Great Findla. Killed at the battle of Pinkie, 1547, while bearing the royal standard of Scotland. First wife a daughter of Baron Reid, of Kinkardine Stewart, by whom he had four sons, who took the name of MacIanla. The Gaelic form MacFhionn-laidh (meaning son of Findlay), being pronounced as nearly as English spelling can show it—Mac-ionn-lay, or Mach-un–la. Clan MacKinlay Suaich-ean-tas, or badge is Lus-nam–ban–sith, the fox glove. Old motto of the clan: "We force nae friend; we fear nae foe." Tartan or plaid.

22. William MacKinlay died in the reign of James VI (1603-1625). Had four sons, who settled at "The Annie," a corruption of the Gaelic Anabhain-fheidh, meaning "The ford of the stag," which is near Callender, in Perthshire.

23. Thomas (?) MacKinlay, or at least one of the sons of William No. 22, the eldest of whom was John. Thomas is known to have lived at "The Annie" in 1587.

24. Donald or Domhniul Mac Kinlay, who was born at "The Annie," is known to have been a grandson of William No. 22.

25. John (Gaelic Ian) MacKinlay, born at "The Annie" about 1645; had three sons; Donald, the eldest, born 1669; "James, the Trooper" (born probably 1671), and John, born 1679.

26. "James, the Trooper," went to Ireland as guide to the victorious army of William III at the Battle of the Boyne, 1690. Settled in Ireland, and was ancestor of a large portion of the Irish McKinleys.

27. David McKinley, known as "David, the Weaver," born probably in 1705; exact date of his immigration to America not known, as the records of New Castle, Delaware, where most of the early Pennsylvania settlers landed, were destroyed by the British during the Revolutionary war. He settled in Chanceford township, York county, Pa., probably before 1745, in which year a tract of land was granted to him. He died in 1761.

28. John McKinlay, died in 1779. Served in the Revolutionary war in 1778, in Captain Joseph Reed's company, York county militia.

29. David McKinlay, born May 16, 1755, in York county, Pa.; died August 8, 1840, in Crawford county, O. Served in the Revolutionary war in the companies of Captains McCaskey, Ross, Laird, Reed, Holderbaum, Sloymaker, Robe and Harnahan. As a member of the "Flying Camp" he was engaged in the defense of the fort at Paulus Hook (now Jersey City, N. J.), and skirmish at Amboy in 1776, and in the skirmish at Chestnut Hill in 1777. He married in Westmoreland county, Pa., Sarah Gray.

30. James McKinley, born September 19, 1783. Married "Polly" Rose about 1805. Resided in Mercer county, Pa. Became interested in

the iron business early in "the thirties," and run a charcoal furnace for a number of years at Lisbon, O. Elder in the Lisbon Presbyterian church from 1822 to 1836.

31. William McKinley, born in Pine township, Mercer county, Pa., November 15, 1807; died in 1892. Manager of the old furnace near New Wilmington, Lawrence county, Pa., for 21 years. Married Nancy Allison in 1829, and resided at Poland, O. Was a devout Methodist, a staunch Whig, a good Republican and an ardent advocate of a protective tariff.

32. William McKinley, born January 29, 1843, at Niles, O. Attended Poland academy. Entered Allegheny college, 1860. Private Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer infantry, June, 1861. Shouldered the musket, carried the knapsack, and "Drank from the same canteen." Promoted to commissary sergeant August, 1862; second lieutenant, September, 1862; first lieutenant, February 7, 1863; captain, July 25, 1864; brevet major of the United States volunteers, 1864. Mustered out with the Twenty-third Ohio July 26, 1865. Admitted to the bar, 1867; prosecuting attorney, 1869. Married January 25, 1871, Miss Ida Saxton. Defended coal miners of Stark county, 1875, clearing them of an unjust charge. Elected to congress 1876, and served 14 years. Governor of Ohio 1891 and 1895. Elected president of the United States 1896.

Numerous articles having appeared in the press, claiming that President McKinley's grandfather was born in Ireland—some papers even illustrating what they claim to have been his birthplace, it is but justice to say that ancestors Nos. 27, 28 and 29 are proven by the records of York county, Pa.

EDITORIALANA.

E. O. Randall

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

Elsewhere in this Quarterly we report at some length the interesting ceremonies held on Ohio Day, July 18, at the Pan-American Exposition.

Little did we suspect on that joyful day that in two brief months a terrible tragedy would transform the bright banners, bedecking the buildings into the "trappings and suits of woe." On Friday, September 6, President McKinley attended the Exposition and in the afternoon while holding a public reception in the Temple of Music, he was cowardly shot by an anarchist assassin. The details of the dastardly crime have been told in hundreds of papers and magazines. The skill and science of surgery could not avail and on the morning of September 14, at 2.15 o'clock in the residence of Hon. John G. Milburn, President of the Pan-American Exposition, the soul of William McKinley took its flight to the realm of the great unknown. As Mr. McKinley was an influential promoter of the State Archæological and Historical Society, and the personal friend of the writer, it would be a dereliction not to give expression in the pages of this Quarterly to our respect and reverence for the illustrious departed.

William McKinley was no common man; we may not be wrong if we say that he was, taken altogether, the greatest man Ohio has produced and given to the nation. We present in another part of this Quarterly the main facts in his life, but even that is hardly necessary for the chronology of his career is a household tale, known to all, as familiarly, perhaps at this moment better known, than that of Washington or Lincoln—how he sprang not from the aristocratic station of the one or the lowly level of the other, but from that best and most fortunate portion of our social order—the middle class, whence comes the sinew and the strength of our nationality. In youth he received a fair education in the best schools of his day and locality. But his enduring discipline—better than which any academy or university could confer—was that purpose to right living and high thinking which his gentle and strong mother imbedded in his boyhood mind. He never became a deep scholar or a learned man—in the bookish sense—but he brought with him at his birth

prudence and wisdom. He was from the start appreciative of, and ambitious for, the advantageous attainments of the student and he entered college, but on its threshold his course was stayed by his country's call to arms. How promptly he answered that call; how faithfully and loyally he discharged that duty history has duly recorded. The war over he returned to the pursuits of peace and made law his chosen profession. In this he at once displayed great ability, aptness and promise, which his fellow citizens recognized by electing him prosecuting attorney of his county. Then follows those famous fourteen years in Congress—when to his many rare natural qualifications he added those of varied experience and wide observation in the affairs of the state and the methods of men. It broadened and matured him. He revealed and developed those powers that characterized his public life—the simple and clear logic of his thought and argument, his polished but practical style of oratory. He concentrated his efforts—he chose a line of labor and adhered thereto—he did not scatter—the great temptation of talent and versatility. He selected as the special subject of his studies the manufacturinig industries of the country—their history, condition, and their advancement and enlargement by the policy of tariff protection. He became the master of his theme and the champion of its cause, and though he came in contact, on the floor of the house, with the strongest minds and most skilled speakers of his day—he steadily but surely advanced to the very front rank of his congressional compeers. Then came those four memorable years as Governor of our great state, when he tested and confirmed his executive abilities. During this period also, throughout the country he continued, in his persuasive, eloquent way, to persistently and forcefully advocate his political views. The commercial and financial condition of the country were in his favor—he was the one man of the hour—and his countrymen elevated him to the highest position in their gift—to the most exalted office in the civilized world. He was fully equipped and equal to it. He not only faithfully fulfilled his promise to the people, but he was suddenly called upon to guide the government through a foreign war; through dangers of the most delicate and far reaching international diplomacy; through the embroglio of European rivalries—a very vortex of unexpected world entanglements—but he did this all, shrewdly, successfully, splendidly—so that by his statecraft, integrity, strategy and kind firmness, our Flag was raised to the pinnacle of earthly glory and our Nation promoted to the vanguard of earthly powers. He was vindicated—rewarded by an overwhelming reelection—and then the crash of the assassin's bullet—and a prosperous, happy and rejoicing people were as with the lightning's flash plunged into inexpressible woe and despair.

And what was this man that, though we knew him long ago, apparently now, so summarily bursts upon our view resplendent and revered? It is not our province to even touch upon the political career and achievements that alone would have made him illustrious if not immortal. We

wish to speak only of him as we saw him and he appeared to us. William McKinley was born the favorite of nature in outward form and feature. In manhood he had not a stalwart nor majestic frame like Chase or Garfield. But he was molded in a well proportioned physique—sustained with staunch and unfailing health. He had a dignified and distinguished bearing that made him seem taller than he really was. He stood erect and moved with an energetic, nervous step, that suggested force and alertness. His handsome head rested firmly and closely upon broad shoulders; his chin was slightly elevated; and he looked his interviewer squarely in the face with a frankness and directness that encouraged the timid or cowed the bravado, as the case might be. His face was Napoleonic in contour, as the comic and caustic papers delighted to caricature,—his features were clean cut and classic—deep set, piercing eyes—they were gray, the prevailing color we are told in intellectual men, but they beamed with a kindly light. His countenance in conversation wore a genial and amiable smile, but when in repose it was thoughtful and serious with almost a tinge of sadness. His voice was soft and sympathetic. He was a goodly man to look upon—a striking personage—such an one as any passing stranger would look again to notice or ask the name of, feeling sure he must be no ordinary person. He walked the earth with the confident conscious tread of royal manhood—and all voluntarily acknowledged the divine right of his manly kingship. He had to an extraordinary degree that indefinable but irresistible quality called "personal magnetism." He cast a potent spell over all within the circle of his presence or the range of his influence. But in manner, thought and speech, he was simplicity itself—there was no affectation—no posing—no officiousness—no self-sufficiency—no assertive superiority—no eccentricity—never a suspicion of egotism or self-centered satisfaction. Though not erudite, he was an orator of the scholarly type. His enunciation was pleasing and strong, distinct and resonant—his thought logical, straightforward common sense; his diction simple, smooth, polished, but not ornate—there was no juggling of words and parleying with phrases; few flowers of speech; no wit, humor or anecdote—no pyrotechnics, but there were popular sentiments and beautiful expressions in direct, plain, Anglo-Saxon, rhetoric. His gestures were graceful and subdued. He was intensely in earnest; he had a message for the occasion and the audience and without flourish or pretension or pedantry, he delivered his declaration as if it were worthy their hearing and he was its properly chosen mouth piece. Logic and reason and justice were his weapons. They were sufficient. He never appealed to the prejudice, passion or the emotions of his auditors. Demagogy was as foreign to him as vice was to his habits. A great element of his leadership was his lofty, unflinching and unqualified patriotism—he loved, adored his country—it was the one object of his devotion and service. He believed the Americans were the chosen people of God, as were the Israelites of old—that the children of this great American republic

were entrusted by the ruler of nations with the leadership of Christian civilization—that was the dominant idea of William McKinley and his enthusiastic and confident expression of that loyal belief aroused the most patriotic response in the hearts of his countrymen. He loved to please—it pained him to hurt the feelings of anyone no matter how humble. He was ever considerate of the feelings of others—ignoring, if possible, their failings and weaknesses. William McKinley was a true born gentlemen—one of God's noblemen, he could never have been otherwise—of him the lines are literally true:

> "His life was gentle and the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world, 'this was a man.'"

Because he was amiable and gentle he was accused of weakness—this was in his political career the one tremendous indictment—he was weak. Never was there a falser charge. That is the awful arraignment by the political puller, the office seeker, the disgruntled and the impracticable—if he cannot attain his object—the appointing power is weak. The thoughtless and the ignorant and the prejudiced confuse weakness and fairness. We have seen this exemplified in many a public man—notably Mr. McKinley's predecessor, most intimate friend and acknowledged model in character and beliefs, Rutherford B. Hayes. It was our privilege to know Mr. Hayes intimately as well as Mr. McKinley. Mr. Hayes was a fair, impartial, just man, who carefully heard both sides, weighed all the testimony and calmly chose that course which was for the best of all concerned. Hence he was charged with being weak. But fairness, justness, gentleness is not weakness, far from it, it is the very essence and basis of strength and firmness. Was Lincoln weak because his great heart responded to the tearful plea of the mother for the condemned boy? Was Grant weak because at Appomattox he spared Lee's humiliation by graciously declining the preferred sword? No, no, gentle sympathetic humanity is not weakness. "The bravest are the tenderest." "The loving are the daring." Was William McKinley weak when at the Chicago Convention in 1888 he might have had the nomination but refused it because he felt in honor bound to Sherman. Was he weak at the Minneapolis Convention in 1892, when as president of the convention he was again urged to take the nomination and nought but honor stood in his way. It is strong to do right, it is weak to do wrong. William McKinley was wondrously endowed with political sagacity and tact. He was a master in the art of handling and moulding men—in appeasing, conciliating, but the exercise of that powerful and dangerous faculty by him was never at the sacrifice of truth and integrity. He loved honors but he loved honor more. While he was a masterful diplomat—there was never the taint of duplicity or dissimilation—it was not the scheming of a Richelieu or a Wolsey. Mr. McKinley

coveted the praise and approbation of men; all rightly constructed men do—it is a stimulus to effort and an encouragement to success—but he wanted it above all else to come to him through merit. He would wear no spurs that he had not honorably won. He was long headed, watchful, patient, he could wait—he was an eminent example of the poets words—"All things come to him who waits." While with tremendous powers of self-control he could bide his time, he was however an "opportunist." He had that sensitive oracular discernment that could see and seize the opportunity. That is akin to genius. He knew unerringly when his chance was at hand and he improved it—he never failed to catch "the tide in the affairs of men which taken in the flood, leads on to fortune." He had a prophetic soul—he could foresee the logic of events—he believed in the correct outcome of things—he was a pronounced "optimist"—that was his principal philosophy and a part of his religion. Indeed in some of his conversations with us he seemed almost a "fatalist." But he believed in man and he believed in God. At all times and places he acknowledged the power and beneficence of Christianity—but he did not wear his piety upon his sleeve "for daws to peck at." Like Lincoln he implicitly trusted in a higher power but it was not natural to him to publicly unveil the shrine of his inner temple. Here too he was greatly misunderstood and grossly illtreated. He was accused of cant and hypocrisy. How could a man who was such a successful politician be a genuine Christian? asked the skeptical. Now the world knows better—Listen to this from the pen of one who neither admired nor believed in McKinley before the awful deed: "Mr. McKinley was lifted on the operating table, stripped for the dreaded ordeal. The doctors were ready to administer ether. The President opened his eyes and saw that he was about to enter a sleep from which he might never wake. He turned his great hazel eyes sorrowfully upon the little group. Then he closed the lips. His white face was suddenly lit by a tender smile. His soul came into his countenance. The wan lips moved. A singular and almost supernatural beauty possessed him, mild, childlike and serene. The surgeons paused to listen. A prayer left his lips. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." The voice was soft and clear. The tears rolled down Dr. Mynter's face. The President raised his chest and sighed. His lips moved once more. "Thy will be done."—Dr. Mann paused with the keen knife in his hand. There was a lump in his throat. "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory." The eyelids fluttered faintly, beads of cold sweat stood on the bloodless brow—there was silence. Then science succeeded prayer. If there is a nobler scene in the history of Christian statesmen and rulers than this, I have not heard of it."

No leader was ever so admiringly, so trustfully followed. You do not need to go far to learn the secret of his success. His sincerity, simplicity, purity, unsullied honor, charming personality, courageous candor and unselfish, limitless patriotism, made him the most universally re-

spected and revered president since that one who was first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen. No American was more genuinely mourned and regretted—no man in history was ever so widely honored. The countries of Europe and the nations of the Orient offered tender tribute to his memory. The very governments which he compelled to fear and respect our flag, voluntarily acknowledged his goodness and greatness—and bewailed his untimely death. Unquestionably he had fewer enemies than any other man who ever filled the chair of our chief magistracy. Many years ago when a traveling student in Germany we paid visit to the famous battle-field of Leipsic, where (in 1813) the great Napoleon, at the head of an army of nearly 400,000 soldiers met the enemy in far less numbers and suffered merciless and disgraceful defeat. It was the beginning of the dimming of the lustre of Napoleon's star of Empire. He was beaten because he was wrong. He was contending at countless cost of life and property solely for his own self aggrandizement. And then close by we were permitted to stand on the field of Lutzen (1632) where in the Thirty Years' war that incomparable leader and Christian King, the grandest figure of the 17th century, Gustavus Adolphus, led his little Swedish army of praying soldiers against the immense host of allied forces under Wallenstein. Gustavus Adolphus against tremendous odds, was victorious because he was contending for liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, but he laid down his life on that battle field, and says Schiller in his graphic portrayal of that event, speaking of the character of the Swedish leader. "In everything their lawgiver was also their example. In the intoxication of his fortune he was still a man and a Christian, and in his devotion still a hero and a King." These are words which might be said of the martyred slain who sleeps in his simple sepulcher at Canton. The great Napoleon reached the highest summit of human power and glory, but it vanished with his life and is naught to-day but a reminder of the emptiness and the insufficiency of worldly position and personal prowess. The cause for which Gustavus Adolphus perished at Lutzen went on, like a mighty conqueror, in the hearts of every lover of truth and freedom. And to-day, we in America, are the inheritors of the righteous result of that battle.

Our memory crowded with his eventful and rapidly passing life, and our senses stunned with the last tragic act, we stand in terror and in anger no less than unutterable sorrow—and with feelings almost of resentfulness at Providence, we ask why was this man of all others to be thus the victim of the foulest crime that the fiends of Hell ever committed. It is folly for us to attempt to fathom the causes or purposes of an infinite law. In his death the president was greater than in life—the pain almost stifling his speech he expressed a kindly wish for the assassin—"let them do him no harm." Does it not recall that tragedy of all tragedies on Calvary—"Father forgive them for they know not what they do." But William McKinley passed to immortal heights,

where we shall regard him with worshipful admiration and reverence. Though decorated with all the honors a nation—a world—could bestow, there shines through all the man—the noble spotless man.

There is no incident in history to our mind like that journey from Washington to Canton of the funeral train. The catafalque, upon which rested the body of the illustrious dead, occupied the center of a spacious car—the sides of which were glass. It was brilliantly lighted at night, so that for a long distance the interior of the car and its hallowed contents were plainly visible. As that train sped on through the darkness of night—winding its way over hill and through dale and past the busy haunts of men—all spectators gazed silently and sadly at the strange and solmen sight. Vast numbers in dense cities crowded to the track and in bared heads and bated breath stood by. And in the open country—in the gloom of midnight—and the gray of the early dawn, the begrimed miner, the belated traveler,—the sleepless farmer,—on the hillside—in the valley, stood motionless or fell on bended knee and uncovered in reverent sorrow as the bright passing light of that car interior spread its rays athwart the adjacent fields. Will not the stainless life; the honorable deeds and shining character of that man shed their sweet influence throughout our nation, and bring cheer and courage to generations yet unborn—not only in this land, but throughout the wide, wide world?

> "Unbounded courage and compassion joined,
> Tempering each other in the victor's mind,
> Alternately proclaim him good and great,
> And make the hero and man complete."

ISRAEL WILLIAMS.

Hon. Israel Williams one of the earliest members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and for many years one of its trustees, died September 9, 1901. at the St. James Hotel, Denver, Colorado, where he was temporarily stopping, being engaged in looking after extensive mining investments in which he was interested.

Isreal Williams was born in Montgomery county, Ohio, August 24, 1827. His parents were William and Mary Marker Williams. Subsequent to their settlement in Montgomery county the family removed to Champaign county, where Israel, one of the nine children, spent his boyhood days. He received his early education in the country schools until the age of eighteen; then left the farm and taught school to obtain means to pay for further education. Attended the high school at Springfield and the college at Granville, now Dennison University; graduated at Farmer's College in 1853; read law with Gunckel and Strong at Dayton, Ohio, and graduated from the Cincinnati Law School in 1855 in which year he was also admitted to the bar. In 1856 he took up his residence in Hamilton,

Ohio, where he opened a law office in the Beckett Block which he occupied continuously until the time of his death. He pursued an extensive and lucrative practice. For many years prior to and during the Civil War, he was the proprietor and editor of the *Hamilton Intelligencer.* Mr. Williams was an ardent loyalist and warm supporter of President Lincoln and took a very active and prominent part in aiding Governors Tod and Brough in their efforts in behalf of the union cause. Mr. Williams was ever a public spirited citizen, assisting in all movements for the betterment and advancement of his community. For several years he was a member of the city council at Hamilton. He possessed a scholorly mind and devoted considerable attention to the study of geology, mineralogy and archæology. In the early days of the Archæological and Historical Society, Mr. Williams took an active interest in its welfare and progress, contributing some valuable papers to the meetings of the Society. He collected a very large and valuable cabinet of archæological specimens which he donated to the Society and which are now in its Museum at Orton Hall. He was appointed by Governor James E. Campbell, a trustee of the Society in 1892 and was reappointed by Governors McKinley, Bushnell and Nash, the appointment by the latter being on March 1, 1901, for a term of three years. He had served continuously for nearly ten years.

Mr. Williams was married to Miss Maggie Wakefield, a native of Butler county, Ohio, on January 9, 1860, and leaves surviving him the widow and four children, Mary, Nina, and Stella, three daughters, all of whom are married and John W. Williams, his only son, who is now an active young business man in Hamilton, Ohio.

Mr. Williams was a genial, courteous gentleman of the olden type. He was a lover of humanity, the friend of all, a delightful companion; an upright and forceful man; his life was well spent and his fellow citizens paid fitting tribute, in the last sad rites, to his memory. He was buried at Hamilton, Ohio, September 13, 1901.

SOLDIERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

We have had several inquiries for a statement of the number of troops engaged in the American Revolution. From the best authority obtainable we learn that the total enlistments during the eight years on the American side were 233,771; this number represents the reinlistments; the actual number of men who saw service in the army was not more than 150,000; the largest American army at any one time was 38,000; average American army 30,000; American army at Long Island and Yorkstown was 16,000 and 17,000 respectively; number of battles and skirmishes 87; largest loss at any one battle to the American army was at Germantown, October 4, 1777, where there were 1,073 in killed, wounded and missing; largest number in the British army at any one time was 42,000.

THE SHAKER COMMUNITY OF WARREN COUNTY.

ITS ORIGIN, RISE, PROGRESS AND DECLINE.

By J. P. MacLean, Ph. D.

INTRODUCTION.

Located three miles west of Lebanon, Ohio, is the seat of the bishopric of the Shaker communities west of the Allegheny Mountains. The tract of land possessed by them is irregular in its boundaries, and embraces 4,500 acres of as rich soil as may be found in the state. Its location meets the approval of the most critical eye. The postoffice is known as Union Village, but to the surrounding country it is known as Shakertown. The people who own this tract of territory are honored and respected by their neighbors. The land has been brought under a high state of cultivation, and the buildings are commodious, well constructed with all modern improvements. The Shakers number about forty-five souls, who take life quietly, and enjoy all the luxuries they desire. The office, where resides the ministry, is one of the finest executive buildings in America, and furnished more luxuriously than any business office in the state. Notwithstanding the fact that here we may find nearly every desire that an upright mind might demand, yet the community is growing less, and apparently its days are numbered.

On Monday, May 20, 1901, I called upon Dr. Joseph R. Slingerland, first in the ministry, who has both special and general charge of all the western communities of Shakers, for the purpose of obtaining all the facts relative to the transactions of the mob of 1810, and further to see if I could secure the privilege of examining the archives of the recently extinct community at Watervliet, near Dayton. During the conversation I was informed that there was a MS. history of the Union Village community. Requesting the loan of the MS., it was placed in my hands, with liberty to make such use of its contents as I might deem advisable.

SHAKER MS. HISTORY.

The MS. history of the Shaker community of Union Village is type-written and covers 221 pages of foolscap, and the product of one who was a member for eighty years. It is entitled, "A history of the principal events of the Society of Believers, at Union Village, commencing in the month of March, 1805, containing a tolerably explicit account of most of the scenes of the said society onward. Compiled both from memory and the several journals kept in the society from the beginning. By O. C. Hampton, who was a member of said society since 1822." The MS. can hardly be said to be a history. It is simply an epitome of each year's transactions as viewed by the compiler, Oliver C. Hampton, born April 2, 1817, died March 29, 1901, becoming a Shaker through the conversion of his father in 1822, having held important positions ever since his early life, not the least of which was that of schoolmaster, and second in the ministry until a short time before his decease, possessed all the information relating to the community he loved so well. However, he did not possess the ordinary instincts so essential in an historian. His MS. is disappointing in many respects. The manners, customs, costumes, etc., we only learn when said expressions were ordered discontinued. Besides this, there is often a want of clearness which not only confuses the reader, but leaves the account so broken as to make it unintelligible to the uninformed reader. The account that follows is based on the Hampton MS.

OLIVER C. HAMPTON.

ORIGIN OF THE SHAKERS OF UNION VILLAGE.

The wild carnival of religion of 1800, 1801, but better known as the "Great Kentucky Revival," thoroughly shook and even prostrated the Presbyterian and Methodist churches that came under its influence. The effect was felt in the valley of the Great Miami; and although one hundred years have elapsed, still the Presbyterian church within the last named region has not recovered from the stroke. After the revival had spent its force we find the Rev. Richard McNemar, who had been a prominent figure in the movement, preaching at Turtle Creek church, at Bedle's Station, now Union Village. The noise of the revival reached the Shakers at New Lebanon, New York, who, in consequence of which, sent three missionaries—John Meacham, Benjamin S. Youngs and Issachar Bates—to the southwest as a propaganda. On March 22, 1805, having traveled the whole distance on foot, they reached the Turtle Creek church, and first went to the house of Malcolm Worley, a wealthy and influential man, and on the following day visited Rev. Richard McNemar. The first convert was Malcolm Worley and Richard McNemar soon after.

On the ensuing Sunday, after the arrival of the missionaries, Benjamin S. Young and Issachar Bates attended the public meeting of the Revivalists, or Newlights, as they were later called, and by permission read the following letter:

"The Church of Christ unto a people in Kentucky and the adjacent states, sendeth greeting: We have heard of a work of God among you; Who worketh in divers operations of His power, for which we feel thankful, as we have an ardent desire that God would carry on His work according to His own purpose. We know that God's work as it respects the salvation and redemption of souls, is a strange work which He hath promised to bring to pass in the latter days. We also know that the servants of God have been under sackcloth and darkness since the falling away of the Apostolic Order which from the time of Christ's ministry continued about four hundred years; since that time Anti-Christ has had power to reign in Christ's stead, and hath 'set up the abomination that maketh desolate,' spoken of by Daniel the prophet, and which, according to the Scriptures, Christ was to consume with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His coming. But not to tarry on those things we will come to matters in the present day. The time being nearly finished, according to the Scriptures, that Anti-Christ should reign, and time fully come for Christ to make His

second appearance, God, out of His everlasting goodness and mercy to His creatures, in the fulness of His promises, raised up to Himself witnesses and gave unto them the same gifts of the Holy Spirit that were given to the Apostles in the day of Christ's first appearing. The light and power and gifts of the Holy Spirit were so convincing, especially in the First Pillar, attended with the word of prophecy in so marvelous a manner, that every heart was searched and every rein of those that heard was tried. The loss of man and the way and work of salvation by Christ in the present witnesses appearing so unspeakably great, that although we had been a people that were greatly wrought upon by the spirit of God, and were looking for the coming of Christ, yet the light manifested in the witnesses showed us that we were unspeakably short of salvation, and had never travelled one step in the Regeneration towards the New Birth. For it showed us that it was impossible for those who lived in the works of natural generation, copulating in the works of the flesh, to travel in the great work of regeneration and the new birth. And as these witnesses had received the revelation in this last display of grace of God to a lost world they taught and opened unto us the way of God which is a way out of all sin in the manner following: First. To believe in the manifestations of Christ in this display of the grace of God to a lost world. Secondly. To confess all our sins; and thirdly, to take up our cross against the flesh, the world, and all evil; which (counsel) we, by receiving and obeying, from the heart, have received the gift of God which has separated us from the course of this world and all sin in our knowledge, for twenty years past and upward.

We, therefore, as servants of Christ and children of the resurrection, testify to all people that Christ hath made his second appearing here on earth, and the poor lost children of men know it not. We know there are many among the wise and prudent of this generation who are looking for the coming of Christ in this latter day, who entirely overlook the work of God as the ancient Jews did, in the day of Christ's first appearing; for Christ has come and it is hid from their eyes and we marvel not at it, for Christ said, 'I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes.' But as the work of God which has wrought mightily in us to purify us from the nature of sin, has been progressive from step to step, as we were able to hear, from one degree to another, we cannot write particularly in this letter. We hope and trust you will be so far informed as will be necessary for your salvation. We feel union with the work of God that is among you as we have heard, and have a desire to communicate something to you that will be for your good. The light of God in the Gospel has taught us the straight and narrow way that leadeth to life, and not only so, but has given us to see the devices of Satan that from ages past down to this day when God hath given His Holy Spirit to enlighten and con-

vert the children of men, of sin, Satan would also work to heal their wounds slightly and to lead them into by and forbidden paths, if possible, to dishonor and destroy the work of God, even in them that God had enlightened and called to be his witnesses. We have had a great desire that some of you might have visited us before now, and we have been waiting for some time to know the mind of God in relation to you. We now, out of duty to God and our fellow creatures, have sent three of our brethren unto you, viz., John Meacham, Benjamin S. Youngs, and Issachar Bates, who, we trust, will be able to declare things more particularly, and to open unto you the way of life which is a way out of all sin — a way that the vulture's eye never saw and the fierce lion never passed. Receive them, therefor, as messengers of Christ and friends to your salvation.

Written in the church at New Lebanon, in the Township of Canaan, County of Columbia, and State of New York, December 30, 1804.

Signed in behalf of the Church,

DAVID MEACHAM,
AMOS HAMMOND,
EBENEZER COOLY."

The second convert was Anna Middleton, a slave, who was received just as cordially as though she had been white and free. Richard McNemar, wife and children were received on the 24th of the following April. On May 23 the first meeting of the Believers was held on the farm of David Hill, about a mile southwest of Union Village. During the year 1805, or shortly thereafter about sixty families had united, together with many unmarried persons of both sexes and all ages, making a total of about 370 persons.

On June 29, Elder David Darrow, Daniel Mosely and Solomon King arrived at the home of Malcolm Worley, the first named having been ordained and sent by the leading authority of the parent church at New Lebanon, to take charge of the newly forming communities in the West.

REIGN OF DAVID DARROW, 1805-1825.

The history of the Shakers of Union Village is essentially the history of the one who was first in the ministry, which office is practically that of a bishop. The selection of the ministry has always been made by the ministry of New Lebanon, and afterwards confirmed by vote at Union Village.

For a period of 20 years David Darrow was the head of the western ministry, and most faithfully bore the burdens of his calling, with an upright and conscientious integrity. He possessed that desirable combination of qualities of firmness, justice, and unswerving righteousness, blended with charity and tenderness, which added to his wisdom or foresight, made him just such a leader as the infant colony required. The success or failure of the entire movement rested upon the shoulders of this man. He became a father to his people, and in his hands were placed their temporal, spiritual, moral and intellectual welfare. The people had been brought out of the Calvinism of Knox, and now entered into a different faith, and different manners and customs. Elder Darrow must direct the new ship amidst breakers and other dangers until he safely brings it into a haven of stability. The country was comparatively new, the people lived in log houses, and the state of society was somewhat primitive. The herculean task was undertaken, and the work fully accomplished. While it was necessary for Elder David to begin at the very foundation and build carefully and substantially, yet it was absolutely necessary that his hands should be strengthened. To this fact the New Lebanon ministry was fully alive. To his assistance they sent Eldress Ruth Farrington, Prudence Farrington, Lucy Smith, Martha Sanford, Molly Goodrich, Ruth Darrow (David's daughter), Peter Pease, Samuel Turner, Constant Mosely and John Wright, all of whom arrived at the residence of Malcolm Worley on May 31, 1806. All of these remained in the West except John Wright, who returned in the following August. Eldress Ruth Farrington, before leaving New Lebanon, was appointed as the First in care on the Sisters' side and to stand in the lot with Elder Darrow. On the 5th of the following June all the brethren and sisters who had come from the East, removed from Worley's house, which had been the headquarters, to their own premises, which they had purchased of Timothy Sewell, which had some log cabins on it. This now was called the Elders' Family. However, they soon erected a frame building and moved into it at what was termed the South House. On December 6 following Peter Pease, Issachar Bates and others purchased a farm owned by Abraham

La Rue, which was afterwards turned over to the Trustees of the Society.

It would be difficult to picture the trials endured by the early Shakers, and the constancy of their leader. Many heavy sacrifices had to be made, and much physical as well as mental and moral trials were endured. But little of their land was cleared and the living poor, and some years must elapse before the comforts of life could be secured. The church cheerfully faced all these trials, economized what they had and patiently endured privations in victuals and clothing,—too often exposed to severe and inclement weather. Everything of a mechanical nature was scarce, and in many instances must be created on the ground. Even these must be postponed until mills could be built in order that machinery could be constructed for the manufacture of many things of immediate necessity. All this took time, patience and hard labor, as well as suffering. Through this formative period their zeal in their faith did not abate nor their love towards one another grow cold. Under the guidance of David Darrow, within a few years, they were in advance of the neighboring vicinity, and from the superiority of their productions they received the highest prices in the markets. Any article manufactured by the Shakers was to be relied on. The prestige thus gained carried a ready sale to them for anything from a basket to a fine carriage. Their uprightness in this temporal line, in time, forced a due regard for their religious convictions. All this cannot be ascribed to their own unaided zeal, for there was more or less of an influx from the mother church. It is related that "on August 15, 1807, Elder Constant Mosely returned from Wheeling whither he had gone to meet the following persons from the East, viz: Nathan Kendal, Archibald Meacham, Anna Cole, Lucy Bacon, and Rachel Johnson." Joseph Allen, a good mechanic, arrived on December 4, from Tyringham, Mass. "On May 26, 1809, Constant Mosely returned from New Lebanon, and with him Hortense Goodrich, Comstock Betts, Mercy Picket and Hopewell Curtis."

The genius and inspiration of David Darrow and his coadjutors may in part be realized, when it is considered that the colony passed through rapid changes in many ways. From log huts to

frame buildings, and thence to substantial brick buildings for dwellings, with all other necessary improvements. A minute of the gigantic undertaking shows a saw mill in 1807, and a new one in 1808; a new church in 1809, with its successor in 1818; the West frame dwelling in 1813; the East house in 1816; the large brick dwelling, a few rods north of the church, in 1820. In short, all the families, East, West, North, South and Center were established under Elder Darrow. In 1819 the population had increased to about 600 souls, among whom were blacksmiths, masons, stone-cutters, carpenters, tanners, fullers, clothiers, cabinet-makers, tailors, weavers, carders, spinners, etc., etc., all of whom were employed in their favorite vocation. All the clothing, boots, shoes, etc., used by the community were made by its own members. Besides all this, their land produced nearly all their living, animal, vegetable and fruits. Tea and coffee were not then used, and the beverages consisted of spice brush, sassafras root, sage, etc., all grown on their lands. The sugar was produced from the maple tree, and some years 5,000 pounds were manufactured. The fields produced large crops of corn, flax, wheat, rye, etc. Such was the organization that the society may be said to have lived within itself.

Upon first view it might be inferred that a people so peaceable, and who lived so much within themselves, would be left to work out their own destiny. But it was not so. Religious rancor and hatred are the most intolerable. Although persecution was bitter enough, but not carried to the same extent as experienced by the eastern communities. Mobs assembled at Union Village in 1810, 1812, 1813, and 1817; but as these will form a special paper, this reference must here suffice. The saintly Eldress Ruth Farrington and Eldress Martha Sanford received blows fom a cowhide in the hands of one John Davis.

Discouragements arose from various sources, among which were the accidental burning of buildings containing crops, the work of incendiaries, and the perfidy of members. The most notable instance of the last was the case of John Wallace, one of the trustees, who in 1818 left home avowedly going to Columbus, under pretext of a business engagement, but turned his course to Cincinnati, borrowed $3,000 of the United States bank, signed the note

"Wallace and Sharp," leaving the society to pay the debt,—a large burden for that period. Wallace annoyed the community as late as 1832, for in that year, with a company of his fellow apostates, he took possession of the grist mill, but was dislodged, and then tried to have the brethren indicted by the grand jury.

One of the misfortunes that the Shakers have been heir to, during the period of their whole history, is that of lawsuits, although they have ever tried to avoid the same. As early as 1811, one Robert Wilson, an apostate, commenced suit against Elder Darrow for $250, which was decided in favor of the latter by the Supreme Court. In 1816 a case in Chancery was brought by one Jonathan Davis, which was decided in favor of the Shakers. Lawsuits also grew out of the mob of 1817.

The Shakers have always been opposed to war, but notwithstanding have been forced to suffer. About the 8th of September, 1813, Elder Samuel Rollins, Elder David Spinning, Robert Baxter, William Davis, Jr., Adam Gallaher and Samuel McClelland (the last two from Busrow), were drafted into the army, — the country then being at war with England. They were required to join the detachment under Major Frye at Lebanon, but on the 11th were furlowed. On the 18th they were marched under guard to Dayton. On the 22nd they returned home, but on October 1 they were taken to Lebanon under pretense of having deserted, and on the 3rd were marched to Xenia; thence to Franklinton, and then to Sandusky. No amount of authority or coercion could force them to shoulder arms, so on November 24 they were discharged, and returned home where they were received with great rejoicing.

While the worldly interests of the community were looked after with consummate care, yet the special feature announced and looked after was the moral and spiritual. The church was the sole object of the organization. It was not until 1812 that attention towards gathering the Society into "Church Order," according to the pattern of the mother church at New Lebanon, was carefully considered, and acted upon. We find that in this year, the ministry, consisting of David Darrow, Solomon King, Ruth Farrington and Hortense Goodrich, occupied the upper part of the church building, and on the 15th of January the first covenant

of the church was signed by all the members who were considered eligible to such a privilege. In brief, this covenant required every signer to surrender totally, together with all possessions, and an absolute consecration to the church, in obedience to the ministry and deacons of the Society, and to practice strict celibacy. Then arose the Children's Order, the Youths' Order, and the Gathering Order, as well as the church proper. Among the rules early adopted was, that, just before Christmas, in every year, all hard feelings and all disunion must be put away and reconciliation completely established. Then, thus united, Christmas was celebrated by singing, dancing, feasting and giving of presents.

The missionary spirit was fully exercised, but appears to have practically died out on the demise of Elder Darrow. All movements are most energetic in their infancy, but appear to crystallize on gaining a firm foothold. As early as 1807 a report reached the Believers that a religious revival had broken out among the Shawnee Indians, located at Greenville. Immediately (March 17), Elder David Darrow, Benjamin S. Youngs and Richard McNemar set out to visit the tribe, and endeavor to persuade them to receive the testimony. During the following month of August the tribe was visited by Issachar Bates and Richard McNemar. During the two visits the Shakers gave the Indians $10 in money, and loaded 20 horses with the necessaries of life which they delivered. But no Indians were gathered. Missionary work was prosecuted during 1807, wherever an opening was offered. In 1808 the missions extended to Straight Creek, Ohio, into Kentucky and Indiana, where Societies were formed—the last named having a great trial, especially from the soldiers and Indians. North Union near Cleveland, was established in 1822, in Watervliet, near Dayton, in 1810, and Whitewater, near Harrison, in 1824. The Societies at Straight Creek, and Eagle Creek, were short-lived. In 1824, a mission was sent to Zoar, in order to interest that colony, who then practiced celibacy.

The Shakers were subjected to experiences of revivals. During the month of February, 1815, an extraordinary revival pervaded the church. It received the name of "War-time." The worship was attended with many displays of muscular exercise, such as stamping, shaking, vociferating and shouting, besides the

usual exercises of dancing, marching, singing, etc. It continued for many months, and was ascribed to the manifestation of war between Michael and his angels, and the Dragon and his angels, spoken of in Revelations. On May 9, 1824, a very large concourse marched along the principal street singing and praising God and manifesting great joy and thanksgiving. On the 12th of the following September there was another joyful march and demonstration.

The first school for the education of the youth was opened November 10, 1808, with John Woods for instructor of the boys, and Malinda Watts for the girls. The teaching of the sexes separately was thought to be more in keeping their mode of life and discipline, but after many years this plan was abandoned. But very few books were in their possession, and in 1816 those in use were the New Testament, Webster's spelling book, and the branches taught were the elementary principles of grammar, arithmetic, spelling, reading and writing.

On June 15, 1808, John McLean, of Lebanon, Ohio, commenced, for the Shakers, a book, entitled "Christ's Second Appearing." The object of this book was to inform the public, as well as novitiates, of the faith, doctrines and discipline of the church. In 1823 this book was republished at Union Village.

The Hampton MS. makes no mention of the fact that in 1819, there was published a 16 mo. of 175 pages, a book entitled "The Other Side of the Question. A Vindication of the Mother and the Elders. By order of the United Society at Union Village, Ohio." It is possible that forgotten tracts were also published. Under date "Miami Country, State of Ohio, August 31, 1810," Benjamin Seth Youngs published his "Transactions of the Ohio Mob, called in the public papers 'an expedition against the Shakers.'" This also escaped Elder Hampton's attention. He must have been aware of the fact that Richard McNemar, in 1807, at Union Village, then called Turtle Creek, wrote his history of "The Kentucky Revival," a work of unusual interest, even to those who do not espouse the Shaker faith.

On October 28, 1821, the Society sustained a great loss in the death of Ruth Farrington. As first in the ministry on the sisters' lot, she had so won the hearts of the people that they called her by

the endearing name of Mother. She died of dropsy, which caused her great suffering, but was borne with patience and Christian rectitude.

Rachel Johnson, who was standing second in the ministry, was elevated to the place made vacant by the demise of Eldress Ruth, and on October 30 Eunice Serring was promoted to the second place.

David Darrow had won the confidence and esteem of his people, who called him, even to this day, "Father David." His faithful years of labor told upon his frame. After failing in health for some time, he departed this life June 27, 1825, aged 75 years and 6 days. His loss was irreparable. His funeral was largely attended on the 28th, and was a very solemn and weighty occasion. Richard McNemar composed a poem of fifty-six lines in commemoration.

INTERREGNUM 1825-1829.

Experience has taught governments that an interregnum is a period of uncertainty if not of danger. It proved both to the Society of United Believers. The death of Father David left a membership of about 500 souls. His arm had been strong and his heart warm with love. He had kept the believers in subjection. His presence no longer felt, the smouldering embers burst forth into a flame. There was both a revolt and a dangerous schism which marked the period.

Among the first Shakers were men of education, but these were few in number. The intellectual status of the church was not of a high discriminating order. Consequently there was a pronounced antagonism to every kind of literary, scientific or other intellectual attainment. The first members generally brought in their families. The children on reaching maturity, although able to read and write, now demanded greater attainments than had been allowed. The number of books and periodicals permitted by the Trustees was extremely limited. But few books, outside their own publications, could be found among them, and only one or two periodicals, for the entire community. A demand not only for greater facilities, but also for a paper published among them for the use and entertainment of the Society at

large. The newspaper was allowed and issued in manuscript. The revolt of the younger members, also culminated in the withdrawal from the Society of many an ambitious person. Many of the children of the pioneers sought homes among strangers. This has been followed more or less ever since, and defections came to be looked upon as a probable occurrence.

The history of the Christian church has demonstrated that schism is the most disastrous of all the dangers that lurk within her folds. The first schism at Union Village broke out in 1828, which was projected by Abijah Alley. Having become unreconciled to the condition of things as administered, he openly opposed the existing authority. He was borne with, and attempts made to reconcile him, but all efforts failing, he was suspended. He persisted in his efforts and persuaded quite a large number to take sides with him. With some of his followers he withdrew and attempted to found a similar institution with broader views. Not having the means nor the capacity for such an undertaking his enterprise collapsed.

The Shakers have been prone to prophecies and revelations. In 1827 there came among them from Canada Daniel Merton and Jason Shepherd. The former, in that year, after fasting for three days, made the following prediction: "At the present time the church is in great peace and prosperity, and it seems as if nothing could arise to disturb her tranquility. But a change will come over her, and many will prove unfaithful and drop out from her ranks. Sorrow and adversity will visit her and desolation and defection will be such that even the most faithful and devoted among you will begin to forbode the entire annihilation of the church. But this destruction will not take place, but after she has reached the lowest level of her adversity, she will arise and move to a higher culmination of glory than at any previous period, and to the highest reachable in that day."

In 1827 the Society at West Union, Indiana, was broken up, owing to the malarious district in which it was located. The members were distributed — as each one elected — among the societies at Union Village, Watervliet, Whitewater, in Ohio, and South Union and Pleasant Hill in Kentucky.

Owing to the prevalent idea that changes in residence should be effected, the order went forth in 1828 that the South Family should break up and be dispersed among the other families of the church, and their building to be occupied by the West Frame Family, which in turn was to be occupied by a family selected from among the younger Believers. The East Family, or Gathering Order, to be removed to the North Lot building, and from there many to be removed to the West Frame. The East Family to be occupied mostly by children, but furnished with a regular elders' order and care-takers.

The monotony of Shaker life was relieved on July 16, 1825, by a visit from Henry Clay, which was repeated on the 18th by another visit, accompanied by a number of persons from Lebanon. On the 22nd a visit was made by Gov. Geo. Clinton, of New York; Gov. Morrow, of Ohio; General Harrison and others, who had been attending the celebration of the opening of the Miami Canal at Middletown. On May 2, 1826, the Duke of Saxony paid a visit with his retinue.

REIGN OF SOLOMON KING, 1829-1835.

On the 3rd of November, 1829, the ministry and elders held a meeting to fill the vacancies caused by the death of Elder David Darrow and the removal of Eldress Eunice Serring to Whitewater. It was decided to appoint Joseph Worley to live in second care, with Elder Solomon King, and Nancy McNemar to fill the second place in the ministry with Eldress Rachel Johnson. The announcement was made to the full church a few days later, and was fully endorsed by said church.

In 1830 the order of the ministry, elders, trustees, and family deacons was as follows:

Ministry—Solomon King, Joshua Worley, Rachel Johnson, Nancy McNemar.

Elders—CENTER HOUSE: Daniel Serring, Andrew C. Houston, Eliza Sharp, Molly Kitchel.

Elders—BRICK HOUSE: William Sharp, James McNemar, Anna Boyd, Caty Rubert.

Elders—NORTH HOUSE: Abner Bedelle, Joseph C. Worley, Charlotte Morrell, Betsy Dunlavy.

Elders—SOUTH HOUSE: Stephen Spinning, Daniel Davis, Elizabeth Sharp, Nancy Milligan.

Elders—WEST BBICK HOUSE: Eli Houston, John Gee, Jr., Caty Boyd, Charity Slater.

Elders—SQUARE HOUSE: Nathaniel Taylor, Clark Valentine, Malinda Watts, Martha Houston.

Elders—EAST HOUSE: James Smith, Jacob Holloway, Anna Bromfield, Peggy Knox.

Trustees, or Office Deacons: Nathan Sharp, Henry Valentine, Ithamar Johnson, Polly Thomas, Betsy Dickson.

Family Deacons: Thomas Hunt, William Davis, Amos Valentine, Daniel Miller, William Runyon, Samuel Holloway, Jesse Legier, Betsy Wait, Betsy Patterson, Rachel Duncan, Susannah Miller, Jenny Slater, Janna Woodruff, Esther Davis.

The above arrangement has reference only to the church proper. At that time there were three other families, viz: the North Lot, the West Lot, and the Grist Mill. The last named, although belonging to the church proper, was not supplied with a regular order of elders, but were under the spiritual care of the Center House elders. Also a family formerly lived on the south side of the Lebanon road, about a quarter of a mile from the cross road. It was a school or children's order, and broken up in 1828. The population at this time (1830) consisted of 238 males (two of which were colored), and 264 females (six being colored). The beginning of the year 1831 showed the Society composed of 11 families, named as follows: Center, Brick, North, South, East House, West Brick, West Frame, West Lot, North Lot, Square House, and Grist Mill. The first four of these was considered the church proper; but the two Mill families—Square House and Grist Mill—were under the care of the church, and worshipped with them. The three next may be termed, intermediate families, although they were under the temporal care and control of the Trustees. The North Lot and West Lot were novitiates, or as called in that day, Gathering Orders. Additions, from time to time, were being made, but it was observed that they were not of the same substantial material as the older stock. The year 1831 saw a greater decimation of numbers than heretofore experienced, the causes being assigned as follows: First, the gradual wearing

off of former inspiring testimony of the Word; second, the reception of unsteady characters.

Most of the houses of the Society were now built, and many of the conveniences known in that day, for a pleasant and easy life, were enjoyed by the community, even to many of its luxuries. Yet all this worldly inducement was insufficient to attract adherents to the fold.

The church had always been a temperance institution. In 1820 Richard McNemar composed a poem on the question. In 1832, in order to save medicinal expense, the younger members of

MEETING HOUSE (LOOKING NORTH).

the Society proposed to use their peppermint and other oil mills for the purpose of distilling apple brandy. The older and more experienced of the members looked with serious apprehension upon the matter. It was abandoned. Cider was a common beverage, but afterwards was rejected.

On June 30, 1835, Nathan Sharp, the principal trustee, withdrew from the Society, taking with him a valuable horse and equipage; also an unknown amount of money, papers, etc. This defection was a heavy shock to many of the novitiates and younger portion of the community, producing more or less of a want of confidence in the stability of the institution. On the 14th of September, the ministry and elders being convened in council, for

the purpose of inquiring into the affairs of the office, relative to Nathan Sharp, who had absconded, united in declaring that he was divested of all his power, and that all his transactions, after his departure, relating to transactions concerning the Society or its property are unauthorized and void, and that William Runyon has been placed in the office of trustee of the temporalities of the church.

The Hampton MS. practically leaves the reader in the dark relative to the method of conducting the affairs of faith and the constitution of the church, until the year 1829, when the full text is submitted. A history of the Shakers is of no special value without a sample of their logic and the transcript of their constitution. A circular letter with a new edition of their constitution, from the ministry of New Lebanon, was read on the 27th of December, 1829, and submitted to the consideration of the church, and on the 31st the church covenant was signed by the church members. The whole is here transcribed:

"The Covenant or Constitution of the United Society of Believers commonly called Shakers * * * 'Come let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual Covenant that shall not be forgotten.' Jeremiah."

A brief illustration of the principles on which the Covenant of the United Society is founded. When man by transgression lost his primitive rectitude, he then lost the unity of his true interest both to God and his fellow creatures. Hence he became selfish and partial in all his views and pursuits. Instead of feeling it his interest and happiness to honor and build up the cause of God, and benefit his fellow creatures, his feelings were turned to exalt and build up himself at the expense of the happiness and peace of his own species, and the loss of his union to his Creator. The object and design of the Covenanted interest of the Church and the covenant relation of this institution by which it is maintained; are, to regain the unity of that relation to God and that social order and connection with each other which mankind lost at the beginning; and to place it upon that solid foundation which cannot be overthrown; so that its blessings, and effects may be felt and enjoyed by all who are willing to build on that foundation as an ever-living Institution. It is a matter of importance that those who are admitted into this Institution, should not be ignorant of the nature of such an understanding; — that they should know for themselves the principles and practice of the Institution, and learn by their own experience what are the requirements of the Gospel. In a Church relation founded on true Christian principles,

one faith must govern all the members. Their interests must be one, and all their plans and pursuits must be regulated by one head or leading influence, and tend to one general end and purpose, according to that unity of faith manifested in their written covenant. For as a body without a head possesses neither life nor power; so a Church without a head or leading power, cannot support its existence, much less maintain the life and power of the Gospel. In the first associations of Believers, in America, their first object was to locate themselves near together, for the benefit of religious worship and protection. And having determined to submit to the government of Christ, according to His revealed will to them, and to devote themselves to the service of God, and the mutual benefit of each other, they found it most convenient for their purpose, and more conformable to the example of the primitive Christians, to bring their property together and unite it in one consecrated interest for the mutual benefit of the Institution.

Agreeably to this plan, the idea of a united interest was introduced, and the property was entrusted to managers in whom they had full confidence, and who were considered faithful, capable and trusty. A Gospel government in things spiritual and temporal was then established upon its proper foundation. It is proper to remark here, that the foundation of the real estate of the Church was laid, and a large portion of it was made upon property which was devoted and consecrated by persons who have since left the world. And it was the special object and desire of these persons, as expressed in their *last wills and testaments* that it should forever remain a consecrated interest, devoted to the sacred purposes for which it was given, and which are expressed in the covenant. Another portion of this united interest has been made up of the consecrated property and labors of those who are still living and faithful in the sacred cause. Hence it is obvious that the Society can never appropriate this consecrated property to any other uses without violating the sacred *wills* and defeating the pious interest of the consecrators.

The government of Christ in His Church is a Divine government, and all who justly expect to be benefitted by it, must come within the bounds of its protection, acknowledge its authority and approve and yield obedience to its requirements; for it is a truth confirmed by the experience of all ages, that a government whether human or Divine, cannot be beneficial to those who will not acknowledge its authority and come under its protection. Every Divine Institution emanating from God, who is the God of Order, is necessarily formed according to some consistent principle. The Church of Christ must therefore be established upon a foundation which cannot admit of a precarious or uncertain tenure. Divine Providence for wise purposes, has permitted all earthly governments, in some way or manner, to emanate from the people: — but whenever Infinite Wisdom has seen fit to establish a spiritual or religious government for the benefit of His covenant people, it has necessarily originated

from Divine appointment; and its continuance has been signally blessed by an overruling Providence. This is clear from the records of the Scripture. God appointed Moses, and established him a leader of the tribe of Israel, and by Divine Revelation Moses appointed Joshua to succeed him. Altho' these things were done under the law, they evidently pointed to a Gospel government, which was more clearly manifested under the ministration of Jesus Christ, and confirmed by His Word and works. 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you and ordained you. As my Father has sent me, so send I you.' Jesus Christ appointed His Apostles as the visible head and leaders of His Church; and the Apostles appointed their successors, 'and ordained Elders in every Church.' And while the government of the Church was kept on this foundation its purity was preserved; but when thro' the influence of human wisdom, the rulers of the Church come to be elected by vote then were produced those unhappy diversions by which the true union of the Church was broken, its orders destroyed 'and the power of the Holy people scattered.' But when the second manifestation of the Spirit of Christ came forth in the revival of the true faith and precepts of the Gospel for the restoration and establishment of the true nature and order of the Church, then the same Divine Order of spiritual government was again revised. Hence the Ministerial Institution must be considered as originating from Divine authority: — Of course the appointment of the Ministry is, in reality, a Divine appointment, given through the preceding Ministry and confirmed and established in the Society by the general union and approbation of the Church; and when duly established, the first visible authority, together with the necessary powers of government are confided to them. Hence to this authority, all final appeals must be submitted for decision. As regulation and good order are the strength and support of every Institution, so they are essentially in all concerns of the Society. Hence arises the necessity of Elders, Deacons and Trustees, to conduct the various concerns of the Church and Society, which fall under their respective jurisdiction.

It is the province of the Elders to assist in the spiritual administration and government of their respective families or departments. The Superintending Deacons or Acting Trustees, are the constitutional depositories of the temporal property which forms the united and consecrated interest of the Church, and the official agents for the transaction of temporal business with those without. And as the governing power is vested in the Ministry, and supported by the general union of the Society, it is therefore very important that the Elders, Deacons and Trustees in all their concerns should maintain a proper union and understanding with the Ministry and with each other. The present Order of the Church was first established at New Lebanon in the year 1792, under the ministration of Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, who were considered as the founders and spiritual leaders of Church Order in this day of

Christ's Second Appearing. Under their ministration Ministers and Elders were appointed, to whom were entrusted the more immediate charge and protection of Believers in the different Societies. Deacons were also appointed to officiate as acting Trustees of the temporal concerns of the Believers who were then collecting into families, and getting into the order of the Gospel. In this appointment David Meacham and Jonathan Walker were the first in temporal trust and took the charge of superintending and regulating the consecrated interest and property of the Church; and by their labors and union, its temporal affairs were brought into order.

As a preliminary to the establishment of Gospel order in the Church, the members thereof entered into a solemn Covenant with each other to stand as a Community, and keep the way of God, in Church relation for the mutual support and protection of each other, in their Christian travel, both in things spiritual and temporal. In this Covenant they freely gave themselves and services, together with all their temporal interest to the service of God, for the support and benefit of each other and for such other pious and charitable uses as the Gospel might require. As the light of the Gospel increased, in the Church, and the necessity of further improvements opened to view, it was found expedient to renew the Covenant, in order to renew its written form.

Though we consider the law of Christ planted in our souls, as more valid and more binding upon us, than written laws, creeds or covenants because on our obedience to this law, depend all our hopes and happiness —here and hereafter; — yet while our temporal prosperity remains under the influence of human laws, written instruments may serve to protect it against all unjust and unlawful claims from those without, and against any infringement from the lawless invaders of our just and equitable rights and privileges. The written Covenant however, is but a transcript of the internal principles and law of Christ which govern and protect this Society.

It is worthy of remark that the first Covenant into which the members of the Church unanimously entered, was verbal: — yet it was made in good faith; and being considered by them as a sacred contract which was religiously binding upon them, it was conscientiously kept. In 1795 it was committted to writing and signed by all the members. In 1801 it was renewed with the addition of some amendments that were found by experience to be essential. In March, 1814, it was again renewed with further amendments, and its written form considerably improved. But in all its amendments and improvements the original and main object of the Covenant has always been kept in view, and the substance of it preserved entire.

It is now more than sixteen years since the last Covenant was executed. During this period the Church has passed through many trying scenes, gained much valuable experience in things spiritual and temporal. Hence some further amendments are found necessary, to make the written

Covenant more complete in its provisions, and better calculated in its form for a general Covenant applicable to all the branches of the Society, where Gospel order is established: to protect the Church and its members in their religious and consecrated rights and privileges, and to give all concerned a more clear and explicit view of its nature and principles.

It is therefore agreed that the Covenant of 1814, be renewed, and its written form revised and improved as in the following Articles.

NEW LEBANON, April 30, 1830."

"The undersigned, Ministry of the United Society at New Lebanon, having duly examined the following Covenant which has been recommended to the Society, and agreed to: — and regularly signed and sealed by the members of the Church, do hereby approve of and recommend the same as a general Constitution for the Church at New Lebanon and Watervliet, and also for the United Society in all its branches, wherever and whenever they may be prepared to adopt it.

New Lebanon, April 30, 1830. Ebenezer Bishop, Rufus Bishop, Mary A. Landon, Asenath Clark."

COVENANT OR CONSTITUTION.

PREAMBLE.

We, the Brethren and Sisters of the United Society of Believers (called Shakers,) residing in the County of Warren, and State of Ohio, being connected together as a religious and social Community, distinguished by the name and title of — The Church of the United Society at Union Village, which for many years has been established, and in successful operation under the charge and protection of the Ministry and Eldership thereof: — feeling the importance of not only renewing and confirming our spiritual covenant with God and each other, but also of renewing and improving our social compact, and amending the written form thereof: — do make, ordain and declare the following Articles of agreement as a summary of the principles, rules and regulations established in the Church of said United Society which are to be kept and maintained by us, both in our collective and individual capacities, as a Covenant, or Constitution, which shall stand as a lawful testimony of our religious Association before all men, and in all cases of question in law, relating to the possession and improvement of our united and consecrated interest, property and estate.

ARTICLE I. OF THE GOSPEL MINISTRY.

We solemnly declare to each other and to all whom it may concern, that we have received, and do hereby acknowledge as the foundation of our faith, Order and government, the testimony or Gospel of

Christ, in His first and second appearing; and we do hereby solemnly agree to support and maintain the same as administered by the Founders of this Society, and kept and conveyed through a regular Order of Ministration down to the present day; And although (as a religious Society) we are variously associated, with respect to the local situations of our respective Communities; we are known and distinguished as a peculiar people, and consider and acknowledge ourselves members of our general Community, possessing one faith, and subject to the administration of one united and parental government, which has been regularly supported from the first foundation pillars of the Institution, and which continues to operate for the support, protection and strength of every part of the Community.

SECTION 2. THEIR ORDER AND OFFICE.

We further acknowledge and declare, that for the purpose of promoting and maintaining union, order and harmony throughout the various branches of this Community, the Primary authority of the Institution has been settled in the first established Ministry at New Lebanon, there to rest and remain as the general center of union by all who stand in Gospel relation and communion with this society. The established order of this Ministry includes four persons, two of each sex.

SECTION 3. PERPETUITY OF THEIR OFFICE AND HOW SUPPLIED.

We further acknowledge and declare, that the aforesaid primary authority has been, and is to be perpetuated as follows, namely, that the first in that office and calling possess the right, by the sanction of Divine Authority, given through the first Founder of the Society, to appoint their successors, and to prescribe or direct any regulation or appointment which they may judge most proper and necessary respecting the Ministry, or any other important matter which may concern the welfare of the Church or Society subsequent to their decease.

But in case no such appointment or regulation be so prescribed or directed, then the right to direct and authorize such appointment and regulations devolves upon the surviving members of the Ministry in Counsel with the Elders of the Church, and others, as the nature of the case, in their judgment may require. Such appointments being officially communicated to all concerned, and receiving the general approbation of the Church, are confirmed and supported in the Society.

SECTION 4. OF THE MINISTERIAL OFFICE IN THE SEVERAL SOCIETIES OR COMMUNITIES.

We further acknowledge and declare, covenant and agree that the Ministerial Office and authority in any Society or Community of our faith, which has emanated or may emanate, in a regular line of order,

from the center of union aforesaid, is, and shall be acknowledged, owned and respected as the Spiritual and primary authority, of such Society or Community, in all matters pertaining to the Ministerial Office. And in case of the decease or removal of any individual of said Ministry, in any such Society, his or her lot and place shall be filled by agreement of the surviving Ministers, in counsel with the Elders of the Church and others, as the nature of the case may require, together with the knowledge and approbation of the Ministerial authority at New Lebanon aforesaid.

Section 5. Powers and Duties of the Ministry.

We further acknowledge and declare, that the Ministry being appointed and established as aforesaid, are vested with the primary authority of the Church and its various branches; hence it becomes their special duty to guide and superintend the spiritual concerns of the Society, as a body of people under their care and government; and in connection with the Elders in their respective families and departments, who shall act in union with them, to give and establish such orders, rules and regulations as may be found necessary for the government and protection of the Church and Society within the limits of their jurisdiction; and also to correct, advise and judge in all matters of importance, whether spiritual or temporal. The said Ministry are also invested with authority, in connection with the Elders aforesaid, to nominate and appoint to office Ministers, Elders, Trustees and Deacons, and to assign offices of care and trust to such brethren and sisters, as they, the said Ministry and Elders shall judge to be best qualified for the several offices to which they may be appointed; — And we hereby covenant and agree that such nominations and appointments being made and officially communicated to those concerned, and receiving the general approbation of the Church as aforesaid, or the families concerned, shall thenceforth be confirmed and supported until altered or revoked by the authority aforesaid.

ARTICLE II. INSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

Section 1. The Object and Design of Church Relation.

We further acknowledge and agree, that the great object, purpose and design of our uniting together as a Church or body of people in social and religious compact, is, faithfully and honestly to occupy and improve the various gifts and talents, both of a spiritual and temporal nature, with which Divine Wisdom has blest us, for the service of God, for the honor of the Gospel, and for the mutual protection, support, and happiness of each other, as Brethren and Sisters in the Gospel, and for such other pious and charitable purposes as the Gospel may require.

Section 2. Who are Not Admissable into Church Relation.

As the *unity*, *purity* and *stability* of the Church, essentially depend on the character and qualifications of its members; and as it is a matter of importance that it should not be encumbered with persons not duly qualified for that distinguished relation: — therefore, we agree, that no member of any company or association in business or civil concern; no co-partner in trade; no person under any legal involvement or obligations of service; no slave nor slave-holder, shall be deemed qualified for admission into the covenant relation and communion of the Church.

Section 3. Preparation for Admission into the Church.

In order that Believers may be prepared for entering into the sacred privilege of Church relation, it is of primary importance that sufficient opportunity and privilege should be afforded under the ministry of the Gospel, for them to acquire suitable instruction in the genuine principles of righteousness, honesty, justice and holiness; and also that they should prove their faith and Christian morality by their practical obedience to the precept of the Gospel, according to their instructions. It is also indispensably necessary for them to receive the *uniting Spirit of Christ*, and to be so far of one heart and mind, that they are willing to sacrifice all other relations for this sacred one. Another essential step is, to settle all just and equitable claims of creditors and filial heirs; so that whatever property they possess may be justly their own. When this is done, and they feel themselves sufficiently prepared to make a deliberate and final choice to devote themselves wholly, to the service of God, without reserve, and it shall be deemed proper by the leading authority of Church, after examination and due consideration, to allow them to associate together in the capacity of a Church, or a branch thereof in Gospel order; they may then consecrate themselves, and all they possess, to the service of God forever and confirm the same by signing a written Covenant, predicated upon the principles herein contained, and by fulfilling on their part, all its obligations.

Section 4. Admission of New Members.

As the door must be kept open for the admission of new members into the Church, when duly prepared, it is agreed that each and every person who shall at any time after the date and execution of the Church Covenant, in any branch of the Community, be admitted into the Church, as a member thereof, shall previously have a first opportunity to obtain a full, clear and explicit understanding of the object and design of the Church Covenant, and of the obligations it enjoins on its members. For this purpose he or she shall, in the presence of two of the deacons, or acting Trustees of the Church, read said

Covenant, or hear the same distinctly read; so as to be able, freely, to acknowledge his full approbation and acceptance thereof, in all its parts. Then he, she, or they, as the case may be, shall be at liberty to sign the same, and having signed and sealed it, shall thenceforth be entitled to all the benefits and privileges thereof, and be subject to all the obligations required of the original signers: And the signature or signatures thus added, shall be certified by the said Deacons or Trustees, with the date thereof.

Section 5. Concerning Youth and Children.

Youth and children, being minors, cannot be received as members of the Church, in its Covenant relation; yet it is agreed that they may be received under the immediate care and government of the Church, at the desire or consent of such person or persons as have a lawful right to, or control of, such minors, together with their own desire or consent but no minor under the care of the Church can be employed therein for wages of any kind.

ARTICLE III. OF THE TRUSTEESHIP.

Section 1. Appointment, Qualifications and Powers of the Trustees.

In the establishment of orders in the various branches of the Society, it has been found necessary that superintending Deacons or agents should be appointed and authorized to act as Trustees of the temporalities of the Church. Deaconnesses are also associated with them to superintend the concerns of the female department. They must be recommended by their honesty and integrity, their fidelity and trust, and their capacity for business. Of these qualifications the Ministry and Elders must be the judges. These Trustees are generally known among us by the title of Office Deacons, and being appointed by the authority aforesaid, and supported by the general approbation of the Church, they are vested with power to take the general charge and oversight of all the property, estate, and interest, dedicated, devolved, consecrated and given up for the benefit of the Church; to hold, in trust, the fee of all lands belonging to the Church; together with all the gifts, grants and donations, which have been, or may be hereafter dedicated, devoted, consecrated and given up as aforesaid; and the said property, estate, interest, gifts, grants and donations, shall constitute the united and consecrated interest of the Church shall be held in trust by said Deacons as acting Trustees — in their official capacity, and by their successors in said office and trust forever.

Section 2. Duties of the Trustees.

It is and shall be the duty of the said Deacons or acting Trustees to improve, use and appropriate the said united interest for the benefit of the Church in all its departments, and for such other religious and charitable purposes as the Gospel may require; and also to make all just and equitable defence in law, for the protection and security of the consecrated and united interest, rights and privileges of the Church and Society jointly and severally, as an associated Community, as far as circumstances, and the nature of the case may require. Provided nevertheless, that all the transactions of the said Trustees; in the use, management, protection, defence and disposal of the aforesaid interest, shall be for the benefit and privilege, and in behalf of the Church or of the Society as aforesaid, and not for any private interest, object, or purpose whatever.

Section 3. Trustees to Give Information and be Responsible to Ministry and Elders.

It shall also be the duty of the said Trustees to give information to the Ministry and Elders of the Church, concerning the general state of the temporal concerns of the Church and Society committed to their charge; and to report to said authority all losses sustained in the united interest thereof, which shall come under their cognizance; and no disposal of the real estate of the Church, nor any important interest, involving the association in any manner, shall be made without the previous knowledge and approbation of the Ministry aforesaid; to whom the said Deacons or Trustees are, and shall at all times be held responsible in all their transactions.

Section 4. Account Books and Books of Record to be Kept.

It is, and shall be the duty of the said Trustees or Official Deacons to keep, or cause to be kept, regular books of account, in which shall be entered the debit and credit accounts of all mercantile operations and business transactions between the Church and others; all receipts and expenditures, bonds, notes, and bills of account, and all matters pertaining to the united interest of the Church; so that its financial concerns may be readily seen and known whenever called for by the proper authority; — and also, a book or books of record, in which shall be recorded a true and correct copy of this Covenant; also all appointments, removals and changes in office of Ministers, Elders, Deacons and Trustees; all admissions, removals, decease and departure of members; together with all other matters and transactions of a public nature which are necessary to be recorded for the benefit of the Church, and for the preservation

and security of the documents, papers and written instruments pertaining to the united interest and concerns of the Church, committed to their charge. And the said records shall, at all times, be open to the inspection of the leading authority of the Church, who shall appoint an auditor or auditors to examine and correct any errors that may, at any time be found in the accounts, and whose signature and date of inspection shall be deemed sufficient authority for the correctness and validity of the facts and matters therein recorded.

SECTION 5. TRUSTEES TO EXECUTE A DECLARATION OF TRUST.

For the better security of the united and consecrated interest of the Church to the proper uses and purposes stipulated in the Covenant, it shall be the duty of the Trustees who may be vested with the lawful title or claim to the real estate of the Church, to make and execute a Declaration of Trust, in due form of law, embracing all and singular, the lands, tenements and hereditaments, with every matter of interest pertaining to the Church, which, at the time being, may be vested in him or them or that may in future come under his or their charge, during his or their Trusteeship. The said Declaration shall state expressly, that such Trustee or Trustees hold such lands, tenements, hereditaments and all personal property of every description, belonging to the Church or Society, *in Trust*, for the uses and purposes expressed in, and subject to the rules, regulations and conditions prescribed *By* the Covenant or Constitution of the said Church, or any amendments thereto which may hereafter be adopted by the general approbation of the Church, and in conformity to the primitive facts and acknowledged principles of the Society; and the said declaration shall be in writing, duly executed under the hand and seal of such Trustee or Trustees, and shall be recorded in the Book of Records, provided for in the preceding section.

SECTION 6. VACANCIES IN CERTAIN CASES HOW SUPPLIED.

We further covenant and agree, that in case it should at any time happen that the office of Trustee should become vacant, by the death or defection of all of the Trustees in whom may be vested the fee of the lands or real estate belonging to said Church or Society, then, and in that case, a successor or successors shall be appointed by the constitutional authority recognized in the covenant, according to the rules and regulations prescribed by the same; — and the said appointment, being duly recorded in the Book of Records provided for in this *Article*, shall be deemed, and is hereby declared to vest in such successors, all the right, interest and Authority of his or their predecessors in respect to all such lands, property or estate belonging to the church or Society aforesaid.

ARTICLE IV. OF THE ELDERSHIP.

Section 1. Choice and Appointment of Elders.

The united interests and objects of Believers established in Gospel order, requires that Elders should be chosen and appointed for the spiritual protection of families, who are to take the lead in their several departments, in the care and government of the concerns of the Church, and of the several families pertaining to the Society. Their number and order should correspond with that of the Ministry. They are required to be persons of good understanding, of approved faithfulness and integrity, and gifted in spiritual administration. They must be selected and appointed by the Ministry, who are to judge of their qualifications.

Section 2. Duties of the Elders.

As faithful Watchmen on the walls of Zion, it becomes the duty of the Elders to watch over their respective families, to instruct the members in their respective duties; — to counsel, encourage, admonish, exhort and reprove, as occasion may require; to lead the worship; to be examples to the members of obedience to the principles and orders of the Gospel, and to see that orders, rules and regulations pertaining to their respective families or departments are properly kept.

ARTICLE V. OF FAMILY DEACONS AND DEACONESSES.

The office of family Deacons and Deaconesses has long been established in the Church, and is essentially necessary for the care, management and direction of the domestic concerns in each family, order or branch of the Church. They are required to be persons of correct and well grounded faith in the established principles of the Gospel; honest and faithful in duty, closely united to their Elders, and of sufficient capacity for business. Of these qualifications the Ministry and Elders, by whom they are chosen and appointed are to be the judges. Their numbers in each family is generally two of each sex, but may be more or less, according to the size of the family and the extent of their various duties.

Section 2. Their Duties and Obligations.

The Deacons and Deaconesses of families are entrusted with the care and oversight of the domestic concerns of their respective families. It is their duty to make proper arrangements in business; to maintain good order; to watch over and counsel and direct the members in their various occupations, as occasion may require; to make application to the Office Deacons for whatever supplies are needed in the several departments of the family; to maintain union, harmony and good understanding with the said Office Deacons and Deaconesses; and to report to their Elders,

the state of matters which fall under their cognizance and observation. But their power is restricted to the domestic concerns of their respective families or departments, and does not extend to any immediate or direct correspondence or intercourse with those without the bounds of the Church: They have no immediate concern with trade and commerce; it is not their business to buy and sell, nor in any way to dispose of the property under their care, except with the union and approbation of the Trustees.

ARTICLE VI. PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS.

Section 1. Benefits and Privileges of Members in Church Relation.

The united interest of the Church having been formed by the free-will offerings and pious donations of the members respectively, for the objects and purposes already stated, it cannot be considered either as a joint tenancy or a tenancy in common, but a consecrated whole, designed for, and devoted to the uses and purposes of the Gospel forever, agreeable to the established principles of the Church; —

Therefore, it shall be held, possessed and enjoyed by the Church, in this united capacity, as a sacred covenant right; that is to say, all, and every member thereof, while standing in Gospel union, and maintaining the principles of the Covenant, shall enjoy equal rights, benefits, and privileges, in the use of all things pertaining to the Church, according to their several needs and circumstances; and no difference shall be made on account of what any one has contributed and devoted, or may hereafter contribute and devote, to the support and benefit of the Institution.

Section 2. Proviso.

It is nevertheless Provided, Stipulated and Agreed, that in case any one, having signed this Covenant, shall afterward forfeit his or her claim to membership, by renouncing the principles of the Society, or by wilfully and obstinately violating the rules and regulations thereof, then, and in that case, his or her claims to all the aforesaid benefits, privileges and enjoyments, shall be equally forfeited.

Section 3. Obligations of Members.

As subordination and obedience are the life and soul of every well regulated community; so, our strength and protection, our happiness and prosperity, in our capacity of Church members, must depend on our faithful obedience to the rules and orders of the Church, and to the instruction, counsel and advice of its leaders: Therefore, we do hereby covenant and agree, that we will receive and acknowledge our Elders in the Gospel, those members of the Church, who are, or shall be chosen and appointed

for the time being, to that office and calling, by the authority aforesaid; and also, that we will, as faithful Brethren and Sisters in Christ, conform and subject to the known and established principles of our Community, and to the counsel and direction of the Elders, who shall act in union as aforesaid and also to all the orders, rules and regulations which, now are, or which may be given and established in the Church, according to the principles, and by the authority aforesaid.

Section 4. Duties of the Members.

The faithful improvement of our time and talents in doing good, is a duty which God requires of mankind as rational and accountable beings, and more especially as members of the Church of Christ — therefore it is, and will be required of all and every member of this Institution, unitedly and individually, to occupy and improve their time and talents to support and maintain the interest of the same, to promote the objects of this Covenant, and discharge their duty to God and each other, according to their several abilities and callings, as members in union with one common lead; so that the various gifts and talents of *All* may be improved for the benefit of *Each* and all concerned.

Section 5. No Special Claims in Case of Removal.

As we esteem the mutual possession and enjoyment of the consecrated interest and principles of the Church, a consideration fully adequate to any amount of personal interest, labor or service, or any other contribution made, devoted or consecrated by any individual; — so we consider that no ground of action can lie, either in law or equity, for the recovery of any property, or service, devoted, or consecrated as aforesaid. And we further agree, that in case of the removal of any member or members from one family, society or branch of the Church to another, his, her, or their previous signature or signatures to the Church or family *Covenant* from whence he, she, or they, shall have removed, shall forever bar all claims which are incompatible with the true intent and meaning of this Covenant, in the same manner as if such removal had not taken place; yet, all who shall so remove in union, and with the approbation of their Elders shall be entitled to all the benefits and privileges of the family or order in which they shall be placed, as they shall conform to the rules and regulations of the same.

ARTICLE VII. DEDICATION AND RELEASE.

Section 1. Dedication of Persons, Services and Property.

According to the faith of the Gospel which we have received, and agreeable to the uniform practice of the Church of Christ from its first establishment in the Society, We Covenant and Agree to dedicate, devote

and consecrate and give up, and by this Covenant We do Solemnly and Conscientiously dedicate, devote, consecrate and give up ourselves and our services, together with all our temporal interest, to the service of God and the support and benefit of the Church of Christ in this Community, and to such other pious and charitable purposes as the Gospel may require, to be under the care and direction of the proper constituted authorities of the said Church, according to the true meaning and intent of the Covenant, and the established rules and practice of the Church.

Section 2. Declaration and Release of Private Claim.

Whereas, in pursuance of the requirements of the Gospel, and in the full exercise of our faith, reason and understanding, we have freely and voluntarily sacrificed all self-interest, and have devoted our persons, services and our property as aforesaid, to the pious and benevolent purposes of the Gospel;—Therefore, we do hereby solemnly, and conscientiously, entirely and individually, for ourselves, our heirs and assigns, release and quit-claim to the Deacons, or those who, for the time being, are the acting Trustees of the Church, for the uses and purposes aforesaid, All our private personal right, title, interest, claim and demand, of, in and to the estate, interest, property and appurtenances so consecrated, devoted, and given up: And we hereby jointly and severally promise and declare, in the presence of God and before witnesses that we will never hereafter, neither directly nor indirectly, under any circumstances whatever, contrary to the stipulations of this Covenant, make nor require any account of any interest, property, labor or service, nor any division thereof, which is, has been or may be devoted by us, or any of us, to the uses and purposes aforesaid, nor bring any charge of debt or damage, nor hold any claim, nor demand whatever, against the said Deacons or Trustees, nor against the Church or Society, nor against any member thereof, on account of any property or service given, rendered, devoted or consecrated to the aforesaid sacred charitable purposes. And we also ratify and confirm hereby, every act and deed which we, or any of us, have acted or done agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Covenant.

In confirmation of all the aforesaid statements, covenants, promises and articles of agreement, we have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed our seals, on and after this twenty-seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord and Savior—one thousand eight hundred and forty-one."

The above Constitution was the result of experience, owing to the fact that undesirable members had been added from time to time and who had made trouble on the score of property rights. This Constitution is practically the same as that adopted in 1829 and no material change has been made since.

Agreeable to the Constitution of 1829, on March 18, 1830, all the deeds and conveyances of land belonging to the Church (containing at that time 3,642 acres), were collected for the purpose of making out declarations of trust, which was accordingly done and duly executed by all the Trustees.

The year 1830 was disastrous to both the Communities at North Union and Whitewater, for a special record is made of donations sent from Union Village. The year was marked by some desertions from the ranks.

The years 1831 and 1832 were successful in the product of corn, yielding 10,000 bushels for each year, but a disaster happened in the burning of the flax barn, the work of an incendiary.

The population in 1834 was 331. The year 1835 was one of disaster and changes. Caterpillars denuded the forest trees of every leaf and killed many. On the 9th of June the village was visited by the most unparalleled freshet ever known. The water fell to a depth of nine inches. All the mill-dams were swept away or broken through. One-half the clothing, fulling and coloring shops were swept away, and the oil mill shared a similar fate. The tail-race of the great mill was filled with gravel and stones. Much timber was carried off and the lands of the Big Bottom were overflowed to a depth that would support a steamboat. The leather in the tanyard floated out of the vats. The damage was estimated at $25,000.

There were internal disorders that greatly afflicted the more sedate and conservative. There was a manifest tendency to looseness of discipline and consequent disregard for good order among the more giddy and thoughtless of the Society; and even some of the officers were not exempt from serious dereliction in this matter. For a time it appeared that a crisis was approaching.

Many changes took place among the officers, and on October 4th Elder Solomon King announced that he would return East for a season and that he had appointed Elder David Meacham his successor, and on the 13th of the same month, in company with Eldress Rachel Johnson, Eliza Sharp and Luther Copley, set out for New Lebanon.

REIGN OF DAVID MEACHAM, 1835—1836.

The reins of government were assumed by David Meacham on the day that Elder King took his departure. The Ministry living in the Meeting House now consisted of David Meacham and Betsy Hastings, with Joshua Worley and Nancy McNemar assistants. The advent of Elder Meacham and Eldress Betsy gave great relief to the Society. While Elder King was a thoroughly good man, upright and pious, he did not possess the characteristics so necessary for one in his position. The rebellious

EXTERIOR VIEW OF OFFICE.

and seditious met with a different reception with the new ministry, and were soon weeded out.

The heavy burden, which had grown to unbearable proportions under Elder King—that of entertaining and receiving visitors at the office—was done away with on October 7, 1835. It also had an undesirable effect upon the younger and more thoughtless members of the Society.

On November 30, Elder Meachem, accompanied by Elder Matthew Houston set out for New Lebanon. On the 27th Stephen Wells and David J. Hawkins arrived from the East, having been sent to assist in regulating the temporal affairs of the Church. After surveying the field, about the 1st of January, 1836, it was

decided to make certain radical changes. This matter was put to the vote of the Church and carried. It was decided to constitute two interests of temporalities in the Church; and to this end it was proposed that the first family should occupy the Brick House, South House and North House, the South House to be denominated the Second Order of the First Family. The second Family was to occupy the North Lot buildings. *The young Believers were to move to the West Section, and the West Brick and West Frame families were to be the Gathering Order of the Society. The West Lot Family was to break up and move into the West Brick and West Frame buildings. The East House Family was to be scattered among other families and their former home vacated. Two whole families were broken up and their homes abandoned. The change began January 12th and required many days before the work was completed.

The officers now stood as follows: *Ministry*—David Meacham, Joshua Worley, Betsy Hastings and Nancy McNemar. *Elders, First Order*—Stephen Spinning, Andrew C. Houston, Lois Spinning and Mary Hopkins. *Elders, Second Order*—Joseph Johnson, John Babbit, Elizabeth Sharp and Nancy Milligan. *Elders, Second Family*—Eli Houston, James Darrow, Caty Boyd and Sally Sharp. *Trustees, First Family*—Daniel Boyd and Ithamar Johnson. *Trustees, Second Family*—William Runyon and David Parkhurst.

On the 14th of February, 1836, a letter was read from Elder Solomon King, who was still at New Lebanon, resigning his position in the Ministry. The same letter stated that the New Lebanon Ministry had appointed Freegift Wells, of Watervliet (near Albany, N. Y.), to be first in the Ministry at Union Village.

The number of members at this time was 330, in the Church Order 256, and 74 in the Gathering Order.

REIGN OF FREEGIFT WELLS, 1836—1843.

Elder Freegift Wells arrived at Union Village April 27, 1836, and on the same day was installed as First Minister of the Society. On the Sunday following he received a hearty welcome. On August 7, Elder Freegift "bore a powerful and scath-

ing testimony against hidden iniquity and all manner of sin, confessed or brought to light. Also the reading of newspapers on the Sabbath." In 1842 the circulation of newspapers was interdicted. On April 3, same year, "a very heavy restriction was laid upon the Church, with regard to meats, drinks, medical and domestic beverages, etc., under various degrees of limitation, according to age and infirmity; the cause to commence on the 10th instant. Under these restrictions (with the above modifications), the use was forbidden of pork, store tea, coffee, tobacco and strong drink." For fourteen years this was religiously kept, when tea and coffee were re-introduced.

During this reign, for the first time it is noted by our chronicler that the men wore drab clothing, which, doubtless, had always been the custom. Every man made his own hat (until 1873), which was made of braided straw, and some of them were so finely executed that they readily sold for $5 a piece. Fur hats were purchased in the markets in 1837. It is also revealed that there was a custom known as the "yearly sacrifice," which consisted of a "general opening of the mind and confession of all known sin, required of all in the Society."

The year 1837 "was one of the most remarkable periods in our whole history, at least up to this time. A remarkable revival of religious zeal was prevalent throughout nearly the whole year. The peculiar inspiration of the revival was that of pure love toward each other, and a sorrow for our shortcomings in regard to hard speeches and feelings toward one another. On Sabbath, February 5, the Ministry attended meeting with us, at the Center House, it being too inclement to use the Meeting House. Elder Freegift read a discourse delivered by Mother Lucy Wright in the East some years since. It was very solemn and impressive and well adapted to our situation. He also strongly urged the necessity of our gaining the gift of repentance of all wrong, and in humiliation of spirit to labor for a deeper inward work. Many of the brethren and sisters were deeply affected and wrought in their minds and strove to lay hold of the gift. And this meeting may be reckoned as the beginning of a very remarkable revival and a time of peculiar refreshing in this place, together with th

preparatory work that preceded it. On the 12th the Church meeting was, according to a journal kept at that time, 'one of the most extraordinary of the kind we ever witnessed at this place. It was attended with many mortifying and humiliating gifts, calculated to unsettle and to free souls and enable them to serve God in spirit and in truth. Surely the spirit of the Lord is striving wonderfully with this people! This remarkable revival, thus inaugurated, continued for many weeks without cessation, seeming to grow more intense with every meeting. I have seen many meetings wherein there was scarcely a dry eye, so overwhelmed were we, not with sorrow, but with the love of God and tender feelings toward each other. It seemed as though we never wanted to break up, but remain to bless one another with our tender feelings and forgiving spirit. I have seen, over and over, many parties kneeling and asking each other's forgiveness for unguarded words that had passed between them. I have noticed many times the floor of the meeting house wet all over with tears after the members had retired."

It was during the reign of Elder Wells that Spiritualism broke out among the Shakers and reached its highest tide. The first notice of it occurred on March 25th, 1838, when two letters from the East were read detailing the wonderful visions of Ann Mariah Goff, a girl of Watervliet, N. Y. On August 26th, in church meeting, Elder Wells remarked upon the wonderful works going on in other places, and added that it would eventually break out among them. Immediately "many were taken under the mighty shaking power of the Spirit."

Oliver C. Hampton was a pronounced Spiritualist and has much to say about the manifestations, and leaves us to infer that astounding circumstances took place during the first seven years of this phenomena; but for the facts, and the instances and special work, he refers the reader to "the several books," the "Records" and the "Annals." It is claimed that the revelations were caused to be made by Mother Ann Lee, who continued among them until her final departure for Heaven; that even Jesus Christ silently and unseen made a special visit among them, and bestowed upon them "faith, charity and wisdom."

About the middle of May, 1839, "the Spirits of the Indians began to make their appearance to the Mediums, and this continued for many months."

Elder Hampton claimed that great good resulted from these manifestations; and yet he tacitly admits there were many extravagant features during the early period, for he remarks: "In looking back over the whole ground covered by it, we are able to see many things which happened during its advent that were the consequences of a want of wisdom in the leaders of the Society; yet when these untoward features are allowed their full weight and measure, there still remains a precious residuum, partly outweighing all the more eccentric, in some cases, unfortunate feature of this great work amongst us." Again he adds: "About the latter part of March, or beginning of April, of this year (1839), the work thus far having been kept within the limits of prudence and a Godly discretion, by the untiring efforts of the good Ministry and Elders, now for a time took on a phase, and was as it were pushed to an extreme, in several directions, which could not have been in unison with the Spirit of our Blessed Mother; but which the Leaders from some cause, seemed unable or unwilling to interfere with, and embarrassing the mediums; who also seemed conscientious to convey nothing that did not come from good and progressed spirits. But as I am no pessimist, and have not one atom of faith in sending the chronicles of ignorance, susperstition, or failure, down to future generations; and as recently, these indiscretions, were all finally corrected, condoned and reconciled among all parties, I shall draw the veil of oblivion over them, and let them rest in eternal sleep."

The Hampton MS. is so vague on the subject of this phenomena, and the subject, owing to its peculiar features among the Shakers, so important, that I design preparing a special paper on the subject. Hence I dismiss the subject here without further reference.

On the 19th of February, 1843, the Church was notified that Elder Freegift Wells, with consent of the Eastern Ministry, had resigned his office of First Minister of Union Village, in

favor of John Martin, and would return to his former home at Watervliet, New York. On June 25, Elder Wells nominated Jesse Legier to the second place in the Ministry, and on July 9th took his final leave of the Society at Union Village, and set out on his journey the 13th.

REIGN OF JOHN MARTIN 1843-1859.

According to the edict for the removal of John Martin, that worthy stood in the Ministry since June 25, 1839. It was not a

LARGEST RESIDENCE. CENTER FAMILY

quiet reign, nor was there anything but might have occurred in a period of sixteen years in any similar community. During the incumbency of Elder Wells the large Center House was projected. It was finished January 13, 1846. This is the most imposing building ever erected in Union Village. The walls contain 1,000,000 brick. The next day after its completion the First Family consisting of 170 persons, 112 of whom occupied the building, took supper in it. Although the brick was burned on the Shaker property and the timbers from their woods, and the greater part of the labor performed by the Community, yet the expense was so great that retrenchment was made and economy strictly enforced on the estate. During its erection a sad accident occurred, which

resulted in the death of Elder Andrew C. Houston, who, on October 7, 1844, fell from the third story and died the same day. His death was not only a shock but also a great loss to the Society, and by his attainments was equal to any office created by the Institution.

Malcolm Worley, the first Shaker convert in the West, and the recognized leader of the "Great Kentucky Revival" died, August 3, 1844, aged 82 years. His children, who had renounced Shakerism, consisting of Joseph, Joshua and Rebecca, commenced legal proceedings to recover the lands he had deeded to the Church in 1812. The claim was put forth that Malcolm was not sane. This suit dragged along until 1848, when the Supreme Court decided in favor of the Shakers. The suit cost the latter $1,200, and had they lost the case it would have taken the land on which the principal buildings stand.

In 1843 the use of meat on Sunday was interdicted. The question was seriously agitated of abandoning the use of flesh altogether, but was decided that every person must be their own judge. In 1848 all the hogs were sold, but afterwards a few were kept to eat up the offal. In 1843 the raising of turkeys was abandoned as a matter of economy.

As inventions increased and the population of the Society decreased, the various employments also changed. The stock was now imported from abroad, and the Durham stock of cattle, secured in England, gave the Shakers a great reputation for improved brands. A spirit of speculation seized some of the community, but was frowned down by the older members. Garden seeds and brooms became a great source of revenue. Development and growth intellectually, were more or less active; for the subject of literature and the acquisition of books received more and more attention, but resisted by the conservative leaders who held that science was destructive to religion and dangerous to Christian character.

Out of the Miller excitement of 1846, when it was declared that the time was at hand that all earthly things should end, there was added 200 souls, whose minds had been swept by the delusion.

These people found relief in Shakerism, and constituted the greatest accession ever had at one time. They were mostly sent to Whitewater, were faithful and active adherents, and possessed of the missionary zeal.

It has ever been a cardinal principle of the Shaker faith to be charitable and benevolent. They have been exceedingly generous to the various communities when in distress, and also to individuals appealing for assistance. During the great famine in Ireland in 1847, the Society contributed 1000 bushels of corn.

That Quakers should become persecutors was not dreamed of in our philosophy. On April 11, 1847, a Quaker girl, whose father had died a Shaker, " went to Lebanon to choose a guardian, and persisted in choosing Elder Hervey L. Eads in spite of all outside persuasions to the contrary and could not be turned from her purpose. The Court had previously agreed that if the girl should choose the said Elder Hervey, they would sanction the choice, and turn the said girl over to him. This however they did not do, and so her outside relations forced her away. She was taken to a place about 14 miles distant, but ran away in the night, and was back to the West Brick the next morning, having traveled the whole distance afoot and alone. But a few days after, the Quakers came and took her away by physical force and violence. And to make assurance doubly sure, they sent her to the state of Michigan, there to remain till she was of age. The persecuting spirit of enmity shown by these Quakers on this occasion was astonishing."

During September, 1850, a sensation was caused about two girls who had been bound to the Society, and on a writ of Habeas Corpus were taken to Lebanon. After a full hearing before the Court they were remanded to the custody of the Shakers. In the early part of the year mob violence had been threatened (on what pretext the Hampton MS. does not state), and even some desperadoes gathered at the cross-roads in a threatening manner.

An incendiary burned the cow barn at the West Brick, on December 12, 1854, with all its contents, consisting of 22 cows and 4 calves.

April 1, 1857, a tract of land, containing 1,500 acres, was purchased in Clinton County, Ohio. The object was to start a

colony, but as the enterprise proved a failure, some years later the tract was sold for $30,000, — the purchase price having been $18,000.

" Jehovah's Chosen Square " is first mentioned in the Hampton MS. for September 7, 1845, where the whole Society was want to meet in the summer season, and there preached, announced their faith, good resolutions, sang, marched, danced, etc., from two to three hours, — then marched home singing most of the way. This spot was an enclosed piece of ground of half an acre,

NEW COW BARN.

in the woods, about two-thirds of a mile from the Center Family, to the North East.

During the reign of Elder Martin the population is given as follows: In 1845 there were living at the Center House 107 persons, 74 at the South and 76 at the North, or 257 in all; in 1849 there were belonging to the First Order 153 persons, and 74 to the Second Order, or 227 in all; in December 1850 there were 164 belonging to the Center and 72 to the South Family; in May 1853, there were 241 members, and in April 1857 the membership numbered 264. "Up to this time, we had little foreboding of the fearful decimation we were destined to experience in later times."

Owing to pronounced eccentricities exhibited by Elder Martin, in 1859, the Eastern Ministry having been consulted, de-

puted Daniel Boller, second in the Ministry at New Lebanon, to visit Union Village. On January 30, 1859, Elder Boller announced that Elder Martin was released from the first gift and Elder Aaron Babbitt should succeed him, with Peter Boyd as second in the Ministry and Elder William Reynolds was placed in the First Order of Eldership. These appointments were ratified and confirmed by unanimous vote of the Church, and Elder Martin was directed to place his mantle upon Elder Babbitt.

REIGN OF AARON BABBITT, 1859-1868.

Elder Aaron Babbitt, as First in the Ministry moved into the Meeting House February 3rd, 1859. For the first time, in several years, the Church Covenant was read, both to the First and Second Orders, on the 27th.

Elder Babbitt was called to pilot the ship through the stormy scenes of the Civil War. The war spirit, despite all efforts to the contrary, seized possession of some of the younger members, who enlisted. Others were drafted, and a fine imposed for not attending general muster. Through the machinations of Samuel J. Tilden, the entire local conscription at New Lebanon, fell on the Shakers. Secretary Stanton decided that the Shakers, as fast as drafted should be furloughed, which was afterwards confirmed by President Lincoln. Although the Shakers opposed war, refused pensions and grants of lands for military services, observed national proclamations for Thanksgiving or fasting and prayers, yet they were not unmindful of the distress caused by such conflicts. To the Sanitary Fair, held in Cincinnati, in 1863, the Shakers contributed the following: 1¼ barrels tomato catsup, 1 barrel sauer krout, 5 barrels dried apples, 1 barrel green apples, 4½ bushels dried sweet corn, 8 dozen brooms, 5 boxes garden seeds, 10 gallons gooseberry sauce, and 5 gallons apple preserves, — the whole valued at $158.50. Their energies were somewhat paralyzed by being called upon to relieve the distress of their brethren at South Union, Kentucky, who suffered from the horrors of war.

Occasionally the Shakers have received members who had gained considerable notoriety. In 1859 Richard Realf became a

member. He had been John Brown's secretary during the Kansas troubles. He had undergone much suffering in establishing freedom in Kansas, and was often in the greatest of dangers. He announced he was weary of the world and wanted rest. Being a man of uncommon abilities, he was placed where he could rapidly learn the thoughts of Shakerism. He soon became the greatest preacher ever connected with Union Village, and was heard with delight by both believers and unbelievers. His stay, however, was brief. He soon longed for the ways of the world, became a Major during the Civil War; afterwards was entangled by the wiles of a woman and committed suicide.

In July 1859, an organized band of robbers, from Indiana, made preparations to rob the community, but the design was exposed by a member of the gang, and all necessary precautions taken to thwart the purpose. About the first of March 1860 quite a large amount of wheat and clothing were stolen, and shortly after a great number of shirts were taken. The thieves proved to be apostates.

On March 4th, 1865 the Society lost by fire the Old North House with its contents, which contained a tin shop, broom shop, carpenter shop, shoemaker shop and sarsaparilla laboratory. The loss was about $10,000. This loss was aggravated by the fact that the Society was now $12,000 in debt. Although the constitution forbid indebtedness, and many members were opposed to incurring such a burden, yet the leaders decided that such, at times, was wisdom.

Knitting machines were introduced in 1861. Previously the sisters and girls wrought goods by hand, and their work was sought for in the markets, knitted mittens and gloves sold readily at $6 per pair.

The industries consisted of raising garden seeds, preserving and packing herbs, manufacturing woolen goods, brooms, flour, oils, extracts of roots for medicine, sorghum and of cattle. In 1862 there was manufactured 2 barrels of grape wine, 30 gallons of currant wine and 60 gallons of strawberry for medicinal purposes.

There were many things that agitated the colony during Elder Babbitt's reign. The Shakers had taken great care of children, but nearly all of them had left the community on arriving at lawful age; so that the care-takers were now few in number, and somewhat enfeebled by age. It became a serious matter whether any more should be received. The questions of insurance against fire and a change in the mode of dress were seriously discussed. In 1867, owing to the depleted condition of numbers, there were grave fears expressed that the Colony might become extinct. In 1867 the Eastern Ministry reprimanded the Community for regarding a proposition to have the Society incorporated. "Can it be possible," say the Ministry, "that either the leaders of people of Union Village, have lost sight of the only true Order of the Church of Christ, and now wish to recede from their loyalty to Gospel Principles, and instead thereof, introduce a wordly form of Government? We do not perceive that any temporal advantage of importance would be derived from the introduction of laws governing corporate bodies, but we do see wherein it would sap the foundation on which Christ's Church must stand. Should we become a body politic, appointing our officers by ballot or vote, we then should be left to drift with the worldly tide and the Powers of Earth and Hell would most surely prevail against us. But while we stand firmly on the Rock of Revelation, and maintain a Covenant — consecrated whole, our sacred inheritance will remain secure from the ravages of worldly influences. Never, while reason remains with us, can we extend the least toleration as union toward permitting any Society of Believers to become an incorporated body."

The population of the Church on March 17, 1859 was 255; on January 1st, 1865 it was 167, and 152 at the close of 1867.

On the 20th of July, 1868, the Eastern Ministry, then on a visit at Union Village, divided the temporal interests heretofore existing between the First and Second Orders of the Church, and set off each Family to itself, as far as finances, lands and houses were concerned. On the 26th, the same Ministry announced that Elders Aaron Babbitt and Cephas Halloway were released from their gift in the Ministry, and should take the

Eldership at the First Family; Elders Amos Parkhurst and William Reynolds should be the Ministry, and Elder Philip F. Antes to be First in the Eldership of the Second Family.

REIGN OF AMOS PARKHURST 1868-1875.

The reign of Elder Amos Parkhurst commenced on July 27th, 1868. It was not marked by any special occurrence, although questions of vital interest to the Society transpired. The question of great importance was that of indebtedness, but the manner in which it was contracted does not appear. The blame is laid largely on the shoulders of Aaron Babbitt. There had been a large purchase of land, which the Hampton MS. condemned, owing to the paucity of their membership. Besides small tracts there was purchased 257 acres, in 1864, at $70 per acre, and in 1869 another tract costing $9,000. In 1875 the indebtedness of the Society amounted to $20,000, on which there was paid 8 and 9 per cent. interest. When the truth was revealed to the Society, all were appalled. Changes were at once made in the trusteeship. Money, at a reduced rate, was borrowed from other Communities of Believers, and the entire products of a portion of the estate was devoted to the payment of the debt. This was placed in the charge of Elder William Reynolds, and the first year liquidated $2,000 of the indebtedness. In 1869, the woolen factory was dismantled, as it could not compete with similar mills. August 6, 1870 an incendiary burned the large grain and stock barn, the loss about $25,000.

During the months of May and June, 1870, Durham cattle, to the amount of $11,535 was sold.

Singing school and instrumental music were introduced in 1870.

In 1871, a committee attended the Spiritualistic Convention, held in Cleveland, and participated in the proceedings. The Shakers and Spiritualists, on different occasions held conferences; but this was finally abandoned, for there was but little in common between them.

The MS. first specially notices recreations in the memoranda for 1871. During the whole period of their history the Elders

of the various Communities were given to visits. The general members had their recreations in rides to neighboring towns, picnics in the woods, and the Harvest ride was always celebrated.

The years 1873, 4 and 5 were marked by great agitation and speculation about the revision of the Constitution. It was urged that the leaders had two much and the lay members too little freedom, etc. It was left to Elder Hervey L. Eades of South Union, to draw up a new Constitution. This production was so faulty as to be rejected. During the depression in the money market, in 1874, the Believers at Union Village gave away 4,300 meals of victuals to the hungry poor.

On the 7th of July, 1875, Elder Giles B. Avery, second in the Ministry at New Lebanon arrived at Union Village, and seven days later the following changes took place: Eldress Sally Sharp, who for many years had stood first in the Ministry was released, and Eldress Naomi Ligier, was promoted from the Second to the First place, and Eldress Adaline Wells, of Watervliet, Ohio, was appointed Second in the Ministry. Elder Amos Parkhurst was made Second and Elder William Reynolds First in the Ministry.

REIGN OF WILLIAM REYNOLDS 1875-1881.

Elder William Reynolds became First in the Ministry on July 14th, 1875. This change appears to have been made owing to the financial stress under which the Society was laboring. This distress was heightened by the failure of a bank in Lebanon, in 1877, in which the Shakers had deposited the sum of $7,568, which was a total loss.

This epoch notes three matters to the Shakers of much importance, that came under discussion. From time to time much commotion attended with acrimony, occurred between the progressive and conservative portion of the Society on the subject of the wearing of beard. From the beginning it was the rule that the beard should be shaved once a week, and oftener if the individual was so disposed. The Brethren of the progressives thought to allow the beard to grow immunity would be secured against throat and eye trouble. It was, after much labor and discussion, permitted to those who plead health; then allowed to

all within a certain prescribed mode; and, finally, the whole subject was left optional. On January 1st, 1881, at a business meeting it was decided that some of the property should be insured. This policy has ever since been carried into effect. Lively dancing and the square step exercise had been a part of the religious exercises from the beginning. May 27, 1880, it was announced that these exercises would cease, owing to the decrease in numbers and the members being too aged.

The intellectual improvement had received quite an impetus. In 1871 a Lyceum was established, which interested the younger portion, and even some of the middle-aged. In it were taught, grammar, composition, declamation, and correct language in address. There were also rehearsals of comic and absurd pieces, as well as recitations of serious, dictactic, poetic, and sententious character. These proceedings were frowned upon by the Ministry, but in 1875, the Eastern Ministry being on a visit, after witnessing an exhibition, gave it their approval.

The Shakers took advantage of the Ohio School laws, and came under its provision, so that in 1879, there was a liberal curriculum; a Shaker teacher employed, which returned to the Society $450 per year, which was not a large sum owing to the taxes they paid.

An incendiary, on January 2, 1876, burned the North cow barn with 39 head of cattle. This was supposed to have grown out of a law suit about a rented peach orchard, which the Second Society gained in Court, from an outsider. It was discovered that the employment of hired help was not conducive to the best interests of the Society. However, in later years, they were forced to it.

Our Chronicler for 1878, remarks: "We began to feel seriously, during this year, the want of more members and greater efficiency and talent among those who from time to time come in among us. They seemed to belong to a class that were not in possession of either talent, or strength of purpose, such as was necessary to the well-being and perpetuity of the Institution, but we had to do the best we could with them, thinking they might answer the purpose of tiding over our depressed

condition, until better times might reach and favor us with better material." The middle of the year 1880, the entire Society numbered only 162 souls.

For the year 1877, the Hampton MS. speaks on the subject of funerals. "Our funerals have not thus far been described. They were, and are, devoid of all ostentation, and even the ground in which we are interred, would never be suspected of being a cemetery. It is leveled off and planted in forest trees, and the spot where the remains of our dear friends lay, is not marked by even a head or foot-stone. When one has deceased, the cadaver is washed and wrapped in a shroud. At the proper time it is placed in the coffin and allowed to be viewed by all who desire, and especially at the close of the funeral. All who reasonably can, are required to attend funerals, and if the weather is favorable, also the burial. When the members are assembled, a solemn hymn is sung, and then all are seated. The meeting is then addressed by the Elder, or some one appointed to this gift. This is generally followed by short and sententious discourse from any who feel so disposed. In these expressions of sentiment, as well as that of the chief speaker, an affectionate reference is had to the merits and good qualities that were characteristic of the deceased; and also to the necessity of living a life here, that shall recommend us to the Heavenly Home and the happy scenes to be enjoyed by those who faithfully live in obedience to their highest consciousness of right, while passing through the shades and shadows of this rudimental sphere. The funeral lasts sufficiently long to give every one an opportunity to speak who desires it, and a second hymn, and a last view of the corpse closes the ceremonies."

Eldress Sally Sharp died April 7, 1879, at the age of 80. Nearly her entire life had been spent in the Society. For 39 years she was one of the Ministry, during 35 of which she was First in the Order. She was just, upright and sincere, extremely sympathetic, and took upon herself the sorrows and tribulations of others.

Elder William Reynolds departed this life May 13, 1881, deeply regretted by all. His whole life, after joining the Shakers,

was given to the upbuilding of the cause he had espoused. He joined the Society in 1837, and died in his 67th year.

REIGN OF MATTHEW B. CARTER, 1881-1890.

The Eastern Ministry arrived at Union Village on June 9th, 1881, and on the 15th appointed Matthew B. Carter and Oliver C. Hampton to succeed William Reynolds and Amos Parkhurst. The whole church, assembled for the purpose, sanctioned the appointment by the raising of hands.

The greatest event during the reign of Elder Carter, and which distinctly marked the decline of Shakerism in the West was the dissolution of the Colony at North Union, near Cleveland, after a career of 67 years. On May 23, 1889, the Union Village and Eastern Ministry met the entire Society of North Union, and then decided to break up the Colony and move the members to Watervliet, near Dayton, O., and Union Village. The dissolution took place on the 15th of the following October, the greater part of the members going to Watervliet. The following December the North Union property was sold for $316,000. Then followed a long law suit. A part of the North Union property was consecrated by various members of the surname of Russell. Certain heirs, not Shakers, brought suit to recover the property. The court awarded the property to the Shakers, after costing them $12,000.

Other disasters were encountered. On January 22, 1884, the Elder at the West Frame Family, absconded with $500 belonging to that family, and probably appropriated still more. On July 24, 1890, John Wilson, acting in the capacity of Farm Deacon, took off and clandestinely sold $700 worth of stock and left for parts unknown. In 1885, the Society commenced loaning the Dayton Furnace Co. money, and all told $16,000. By 1890 they realized it was a case of misplaced confidence, and the work of a shrewd lawyer. This loss was total. Added to all this there must be mentioned a destructive cyclone that visited them on the night of May 12, 1886. Several buildings were demolished, and many chimneys of other buildings were blown down; hundreds of acres of forest, ornamental and fruit trees were uprooted;

miles of fences blown away, and some stock injured. So great was the calamity that it required quite a period to recover from it.

Foes within did incalculable damage. April 12, 1890, the woodshed at the South House with a two story building were burned. On the 29th the dwelling, wash-house, with all the laundry machinery, and several outhouses were consumed. This calamity broke up the old South House Family, whose members now became scattered among other families. This was considered the most disastrous occurrence which ever happened in the Community. Believing that the fire was the work of an incendiary, a detective was employed, who, in a few days, caught the wretch in the very act of trying to burn the West Frame Family dwelling. The villain was living among the Shakers. He confessed all and was sent to the penitentiary for four years.

During February, 1884, a liberal donation was sent to the sufferers made by the sudden rise of the Ohio River.

Elder Carter died suddenly July 24, 1890. Almost from the beginning of his career among the Shakers he filled many important places of care and responsibility. He was strictly honest, modest and unassuming.

REIGN OF JOSEPH R. SLINGERLAND, 1890—.

Dr. Jos. R. Slingerland.

The Ministry from New Lebanon and Union Village, on August 21, 1890, announced the following changes: Elder Joseph R. Slingerland to be First and Oliver C. Hampton Second in the Ministry. The first mention of Elder Slingerland, in the Hampton MS. is for the year 1888, when he is on a visit from New Lebanon to all the Western Societies. The second reference is for April 19, 1889, when he arrives at Union Village to make that his home; and on the 12th of the following May was appointed Second in the Ministry.

Elder Slingerland is 59 years of age and joined the Shakers 51 years ago. His life and philosophy is that of Shakerism in which he believes implicitly. He has a broad mind which no ism could thoroughly circumscribe. He strikes out for himself and does his own thinking. He has read extensively and keeps mentally abreast of the times. His mind is not only well cultured, but his education excellent, besides having taken a regular course in medicine. He is naturally reserved, but when aroused or interested becomes animated and an excellent conversationalist. His impulses are generous, but not blind to the failing of humanity. He is of the mental temperament, below the average size, but not robust. With the exception of Elder Darrow, more has devolved on Elder Slingerland than any other bishop of the Western Societies. With his sensitive nature he has witnessed events which must have strained even his philosophy. He was a principal factor in the management of the dissolution of the North Union and Watervliet Colonies; and the greater part of the burden rested upon his shoulders. The management of the lawsuit over the North Union property rested with him. During that litigation a singular circumstance took place. It appeared that a vital point in the lawsuit was the original covenant signed by the North Union members. Neither this nor a copy could anywhere be secured. One night, in a dream, he went to the now abandoned office of the North Union Society, and in the northeastern room of that building he thrust his arm to the pit in a pile of papers, and from the bottom drew forth the desired document. The next morning he set out early for North Union, so impressed was he by the dream. The train arrived late in Cleveland. In the darkness he drove out to the abandoned settlement, entered the building, felt around in the darkness until he reached a pile of papers, thrust in his hand, and pulled out a paper; called for a light, and to his great delight saw the desired paper.

It was during the month of October, 1900, that the Watervliet Community was dissolved, and its members, including those of North Union, who had settled there in 1889, removed to Union Village, and now constitute the North Family.

An effort was made in 1897 to start a colony near Brunswick, Georgia, where previously, 7,000 acres had been secured. This proved a failure. In 1898 the Society purchased over 40,000 acres in Camden County, Georgia, and placed on it a small colony, mostly from Union Village.

The membership having not only greatly decreased (60 in 1897), but also in all the other Communities, and the majority becoming old, the buildings began to show the effects of time in so much so as to need repairs. Elder Slingerland supported by the Eastern Ministry, although greatly opposed at home, in 1891, set out repairs and improvements, on a gigantic scale. Modern ideas and improvements now ruled the day. So extensive was the plan that it required several years to consummate it. Not only were the buildings looked after, but the same year ten miles of hedge fence was contracted for, besides miles of wire fence placed in order. The fields were now thrown into 100 acre lots. In 1893, pear, apple, cherry, peach and plum trees were set out to the number of 1,900. In 1895, practically all the lands had been rented, — the Society reserving the gardens and orchards.

A schism broke out in 1893, the nature of which is not mentioned. It was finally amicably settled. The custom of kneeling just before sitting down to dine, was abandoned in 1894. In 1895 the men were permitted to wear the hair in such style as suited the individual. The wearing of caps by the sisters, which had been rigidly enforced from the beginning, was abandoned in the same year.

The Hampton MS. ends with the year 1897. "At the commencement of this year (1897), we had become so reduced, that many serious thoughts were rife in the community as to the continuance and perpetuity thereof; if no better success attended our efforts in gathering in persons from the world, to fill the places of the fast declining members." It now became impossible to fill all the necessary offices with suitable persons.

The MS. evidently is left in an unfinished condition. But in a journal kept by Mr. Hampton, the record is brought down to May 8, 1900. In this record we are informed that on January 9, 1898, Oliver C. Hampton was released from his place as Sec-

Eliz. Downing.

ond in the Ministry, but continued preaching until his death.

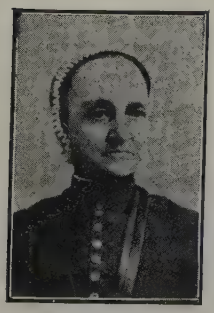
The Ministry at Union Village, at this date (September 28, 1901,) is as follows: First in the Ministry, Joseph R. Slingerland, with second place vacant. First in the Ministry, on the Sisters side, Elizabeth Downing, and Second, Mary Green Gass.

Elizabeth Downing, a direct descendant of Oliver Cromwell, was born in Louisville, Ky., in 1828, and has been a Shaker since 1840, living with the Community at Pleasant Hill, Ky., until she was removed to Union Village in 1889, to succeed Louisa Farnham, as First in the Ministry, which occurred on May 12th.

Mary G. Gass.

Mary Green Gass was born in England in 1848, and from infancy has been a Shaker. She was removed from Whitewater in 1897, to become Second in the Ministry, having been appointed February 21st.

To the present generation of Shakers the name of Emily Robinson is sacred on account of her many virtues. She became a Shaker at the age of 8, and on May 12, 1889, was appointed Second in the Ministry and so continued until her death, January 17, 1897.



Emily Robinson.

Thos who read my article on the Shakers of North Union (Quarterly, July, 1900) may be interested in the welfare of Clymena Miner, who has been an Eldress since 1860. She saw the North Union Society in all its power, and numbering 200 souls. She now sees the remnant with but seven in number. Eldress Clymena Miner was born in Painesville, Ohio, December 1, 1832; was taken to the Shakers of North Union, by her mother, in 1839; removed to Watervliet, October 15, 1889, and on the dissolution of that Society,

removed to Union Village, October 11, 1900, and is now in full charge of the North or Second Family. Eldress Clymena is a bright, vivacious lady, and is as pleasant a person as one would desire to meet. She is well informed and an excellent conversationalist. She is devoting the remainder of her life to the care of the people under her charge.

One of the most interesting characters at Union Village is James H. Fennessy, who was born in Cincinnati in 1854, and became a Shaker in April, 1882; Farm-Deacon in 1887, and Trustee in 1898. In his honesty and business capacity the Society has unlimited confidence. They believe that he will extricate them from the most serious financial distress into which the Society has ever fallen. It is to be sincerely hoped that their expectations will be fully realized.

CONCLUSION.

As may be inferred the discipline of the Believers has been greatly relaxed. Even assent to the Shaker faith is no longer required. It is however demanded that the applicant for admission shall have a good moral character, and also to have a healthy body and be under 50 years of age. Owing to the paucity of their numbers, public meetings are no longer held and their Meeting House is practically abandoned. Religious services are now conducted in the chapel of the Center House. There appears to be a general feeling among the Shakers of Union Village that the days of their existence as a Community are drawing to a close. The Shakers of the United States, from a membership of 4,000 in 1823, have dwindled to less than 600 in 1901.

In closing I desire to state that I have received the utmost courtesy, in the preparation of this article, from the Shakers of Union Village. During its preparation I received a presentation of a complete set of Shaker books, from the hands of Elder Joseph R. Slingerland and Eldress Clymena Miner. By my solicitation, the former sent a selection of books to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. May these kind Shakers, and all others of their faith, continue long in the land.

FRANKLIN, OHIO, Sept. 28, 1901.

THE PIONEER POET LAWYER.

BY N. B. C. LOVE, D. D.

A volume lies before me, the property of the Way Library, Perrysburg, Ohio. It is called

"THE FOREST RANGERS."

It is a tale of the northwest wilderness of 1794. Wayne's March and battles are a prominent feature, with possible incidents connected therewith, both of fact and fiction.

The author was Andrew Coffinberry. Wright and Leg were the publishers, Columbus, Ohio, 1842. I do not know how large the edition, or the price, or popularity of the book. I have knowledge of but two copies. I saw the author in Sidney, Ohio, when I was a boy, in 1856, when he was 68 years old. He came there horseback, dressed in Colonial style, excepting the short knee breeches. He had a fine horse and his old style and somewhat stately appearance attracted attention as he rode through the streets.

Mr. Coffinberry was born in Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Virginia, August 20, 1788. His parents were German. They moved to Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1806, and to Lancaster, Ohio, 1807, where he studied law, and to Perrysburg in 1836, when he acted as the legal adviser of Governor Lucas in the "Michigan and Ohio Boundary War."

Here, this year he was associated with Leonard B. Gurley, the pioneer poet preacher, who was presiding elder of the Maumee District, Michigan Conference.

As a lawyer Mr. Coffinberry ranked with his coadjutors, such as Thomas Ewing, C. H. Sherman, William and Henry Stanbery, G. B. Way, John C. Spink, H. S. Commager, M. R. Waite and others. He had a grace and stateliness in court that secured to him the title of "Count."

Judge James M. Coffinberry, Cleveland, Ohio, was his son, sometime deceased. But it is not my purpose to write a memoir,

nor give incidents of his pioneer life in the practice of law in Northern and Western Ohio, but to review his pioneer poem, "The Forest Rangers."

In some parts it has real merit, but is quaint in its plot and arrangement. Incidents, too, are introduced that clog instead of beautifying the poem.

When it was written in 1842, Northwestern Ohio was largely a wilderness. The Wyandot Indians were yet in their Sandusky Reservation, and the various Indian tribes along the Maumee had emigrated only four or five years before.

The poem is flavored with the aroma of the rivers, forests, the wild, free life of the early Northwest, rather than with the halls of learning and the environment of the culture of an older civilization. It is divided into seven Cantos: The Capture, The Narration, The March, The Hazard, The Rescue, The Preparation and The Conclusion.

In the Prelude, the primeval forests are described, and a prayer offered to

"The sweet genius of the forest shade,
Where nature's treasures bloom,
And Flora decorates the glade."

* * * * * * *

Deign thy enchantment to impart,
To fan the latent flame
That swells and animates his heart;
A Bard without a name,
Who fain would sing of wildwood fare,
The redman's vast retreat,
And paint its ills and terrors where
Its varied evils meet.

The first scene is on the Auglaize River, where the

"Woodland warblers woke their lays,
Till the extended forest run
With joyous notes of Sylvan song."

Here we are introduced to a lone white man:

"A wildered stranger in the land,
All drenched with dew drops, reached her strand."

"He cautious trod the brushwood o'er,
Until he reached the River's shore,
Then bended low, his brows to lave
Beneath her cool and limpid wave,
To sooth and calm his fevered blood;
Then slaked his thirst from her pure flood—
Arising then, erect he stood,
And seemed the genius of the wood."

And as the poet scans him he exclaims:

"The man was six feet high in stature;
Genius and beauty marked each feature,
And whomsover glanced on him,
Discerned Herculean strength of limb."

His age seemed to be twenty-four years; he was dressed in dark green homespun, soiled with traces of blood. He seemed intent on some important mission:

"The stranger here surveyed each pass—
Each inlet, copse and soft morass,
Observant still of every sound,
That woke the solitude around;
And every impress of the sand
His restless eye with caution scanned."

He then unpacked his sack and ate a hasty meal of hardened deer meat, then passed northward along the river's bank.

There is no mistaking here the Ranger of the Northwest territory of a hundred years ago. And this stranger figures in the poem to the end. Caution was necessary, for the Indians were on the alert, and were congregating to meet Mad Anthony Wayne. At the mouth of the Auglaize were

"Mustering strong the Kaskaskies,
Wyandots and Miamies,
Also the Potawatames,
The Delaware and Chippewas,
The Kickapoos and Ottawas,
Shawnoes and many strays
From almost every Indian nation."

These and other Indians had almost full occupancy of the Northwest, and even after St. Clair's defeat up to the victory of

Wayne. Many backwoodsmen and forest rangers, captured, had been burned at the stake, or butchered in the presence of wife and children.

"And thus the ruthless savage legion,
All the trackless Western region,
Save when the band of gallant Wayne,
Lay further westward in campaign."

Had full control. General Wayne's army at this time, May, 1794, was being augmented at Fort Wayne, where the City of Fort Wayne now stands. At evening time the "Stranger" found himself in the vicinity of an Indian village, Ockenoxy. It was afterwards known as Sharloe, and was the old "Seat of Justice" for Paulding County, Ohio.

A hungry panther followed the stranger as night drew on. He was in a dilemma: a fire would protect from wild beasts but would expose him to the Indians.

Just then, looking up a deep ravine,

"A hunter's fire he discried,
Then peering through with doubt and care,
He saw the hunter on his lair
Of broken bough all fresh and green,
Just wrenched from an adjacent linn."

The American "panther's eye behind him glared" and before him the camp fire blazed. Then he resolved

"To rush on the human foe,
And life or death the truth to know."

And rushing up,

"By the nigh fire's flickering light
He saw the hunter's skin was white."

They were glad to meet each other and this second person, the hunter, said, in the backwoodsmen's vernacular:

"Stranger, you're welcome to my fire,
Unloose your pack and set up nigher,
I tuck you for some Ingin whelp,
A sneaking around to get my skelp,
But then I thought it curious quite,
That my dog, Tray, should show no fight;
Well now sit down and dry your feet
While I get suthin' good to eat."

A conversation between the two followed, and the story in smoothly flowing rhyme is given. The hunter's story was in brief: —

"I used to live on the Kenawas
Till burnt out by the devlish 'Tawas,
They killed my wife, the poor, dear critter,
I never, never can forgit her."

His wife was not killed and burned in his cabin as he supposed but was in captivity.

The supper prepared by the "hunter" for the "Stranger" friend was:

"Wild turkey reking from the coals,
And venison dried on slender poles,
Wild honeycomb as clear as air,
And water from the brook as fair,
Now furnished him a simple fast,
Most grateful to his hungering taste."

These together agreed to range the forest and hunt "Injins." They found an open small prairie, and hid in some bushes that they might see any one passing near.

They concluded, however, that it was better to find and join the Army of Wayne, for

"Watch as you may that sooner or late,
You will fall a victim to their hate."

The stranger tells his friend his story:

"I go to seek a captive maid
And trust in heaven to give her aid
With belief that General Wayne
In this dire strait, may lend some train,
I now persue this toilsome route
To range the wood and find him out.

* * * * * *

The maid and I were seized together,
As thoughtlessly we trod the heather
Between the River and the Bayou,
Along the margin of the Ohio."

He tells how he killed his captors and escaped, all of which is sensational, yet no doubt true to life. He had thought himself lost in the great forest, and was happy to know nearly where he was.

The hunter's sympathy was aroused, and he said to the stranger: —

"And so I will go with you through,
And help you hunt for General Wayne,
And if so be he gives you men,
To hunt your gal the wildwood through,
Then, stranger, I'll hunt with you too."

This hunter's name was Thomas Gibbs. As the two men and Tray slowly crawled through the tangled woods, the dog silently indicated the nearness of Indians. The hunter put his ear hard on the ground, and said he heard three men walking, and, peering closely he saw the three about a hundred yards distant. Picking their men, with two balls they did their work, and two Indians fell. The third escaped.

Rushing up they found one dead, but the other only stunned. He proved to be a white man in Indian costume, and was the notorious Simon Girty. They were happy and continued toward Wayne's Army, but were waylaid, and in turn were taken prisoners, and Girty taunted them with the horrid execution they should receive.

The Poet leaves the rangers in captivity and takes the reader to Girty's Point or Island, six miles above Napoleon, Ohio. When the writer visited this historic scene thirty years ago, the place belonged to Elijah Gunn. The island then was clothed in great luxuriance of native timber, such as walnut, elm, poplar, sycamore and linn, also a smaller growth of willows and ironwood. I have heard the early pioneers tell many interesting stories of this location in the pioneer days, which I will not repeat here.

At this place in 1794 was Girty's headquarters and to this point was "Julia" brought, "A maiden of seventeen years" and the married woman known as "Nancy." This woman was evidently of Scotch-Irish origin and was a fair specimen of the uncultured pioneer young wife, loyal, brave and kind.

"The matron's age seemed to be
Tween twenty–one and twenty–three;
Her constitution firm and sound,
Her stature, graceful, tall and round,
Her visage though much weather tanned,
Was open, generous and blond;
Her eye with kind affection beamed,
And time had been when she was deemed
A rural belle, and did obtain
The praise of many a rustic swain."

And the young lady captive is described:

"The nymph was beautiful as light,
Her skin was almost alabaster white,
Save, to her cheeks was lent
The damask roses' richest tint,
Her lips when parted did disclose,
Two fair and perfect pearly rows,
Her silky inglets, jetty hue
O'er her fairneck their contrast threw;
Her raven brow in arch praise,
Lent grace and lustre to her eyes;
Those sparkling orbs of purest blue,
Evinced a kindly heart and true;
Proportions of the fairest mould."

Oft repeated efforts at winning the hand and heart of this beautiful captive were made by Girty, and by intimidation and the persuasive powers of the matron were, as Girty thought, in the same direction, but without avail.

The matron was claimed by a high and honorable minded Chief who saw only in her redemption money. The maiden had a history. I give it briefly in part, epitomizing the poem:

"Her father's name was Henry Gray
And dwelt on Chesapeake bay."

She was sent to college and just a short time before her graduation her parents died, her uncle being executor and he dying, his son came into possession of the estate and business. This cousin became infatuated with her. She had, however, fallen in love with George Vernon, a fellow student. Her cousin by intercepting letters and interpolating, secured an estrangement between the young lady and George.

Her cousin selling out all the possessions, with his mother, sister and Julia started for New Orleans, by the way of Wheeling, promising the latter to set her off in Kentucky, so she might live with an uncle. This promise he did not propose keeping, and his sister told Julia all about his designs. These she communicated to George by letter and pleaded with him to rescue her. This he did by intercepting the flat boat and getting aboard, he induced the cousin of Julia to tie the boat up until he could confer with her, which was done on the Ohio side. When ashore George and Julia were captured by the Indians and carried by different captors into the wilderness. The story is told in verse and often well, although much of it is rhyming prose.

Julia ends the narrative saying:

"I saw not but as if entranced,
I felt myself with force advanced,
Far up the rugged wood crowned hill
By painted ruffians at their will."

The next division has to do with the marching of Wayne's Army.

The inroads of the Indians and their triumph over General Harman's and Wayne's armies made them insolent and aggressive:

And a nation's tears and wrongs,
Roused to her aid heroic throngs,
To quell her border strife—
Into the forest depths they go,
And fight where lurks the foe,
Or cease with ceasing life.'

Wayne's Army assembled;

"Where the St. Joseph swept along—
And the St. Mary's poured her purling tide."

And here the backwoodsmen,

"Each with his sack beneath his head,
Lay on simple greensward bed."

Which was more comfortable

"Than midst a sultry August air,
In a narrow crowded tent."

With the morning;

"The doubling sounds of drum and fife,
Awoke a scene of busy life,
And did for the stern march prepare,
Along with Miami's banks where
They hoped to meet the lurking foe,
In steady combat, blow to blow."

While the descriptions of the make-up of the Army, its commissary clothing, military drill, marching, amusements, etc., are often entertaining and instructive, I cannot use the space to transfer them in this article.

The army underway plodded through swamps and forests, planted a fort at Defiance, and soon sought and found the massed Indian brows under Turkeyfoot at the foot of the Rapids — the results are known. The poem at length describes all. During this time the captives were with Girty's band. The stranger and Gibbs the Hunter saw the captives bound to the stake and the lighting of the fires about them, and slipping in the darkness nearer from the river, filled their caps with water and with yells and great noise rushed to their rescue and quenched the lighted fires and their persecutors panic-stricken fled; and the captives, in the night, no one speaking a word, with their deliverers reached Wayne's Army, which was then only a few miles distant.

The Forest Rangers turned over their captives. Next morning when Gibbs called to see the captives, to his great astonishment and joy, found Nancy, the matron, as one raised from the dead, and his beautiful boy whom he had not before

seen. George Vernon calling a few minutes later recognized Julia, his affianced, and —

"Julia was all blushing in her charms,
Was given to her lover's arms."
And thus ended all the toils and dangers
Of these praiseworthy "Forest Rangers.'

Simon Girty fought in the battle of the "Fallen Timber" and wounded and branded by white men and red fled to Canada.

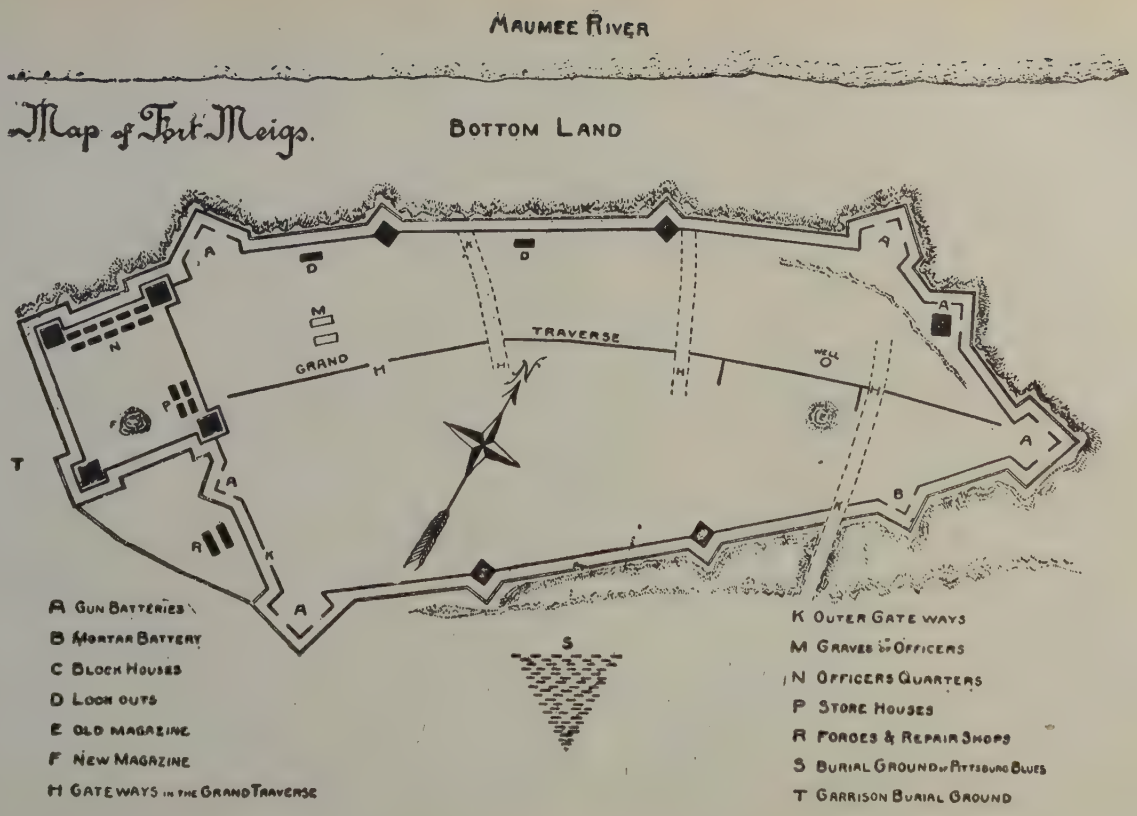
Here ends this early epic poem of the Maumee Valley. It is worthy a place in the Library of all who delight in pioneer literature, which gives correct and graphic views of this heroic period of 1794. While a hundred years ago there were those in the Northwest who wrote verses, most of which were the crudest doggerels, yet an occasional gem fell from their pens, but one only wrote an epic, Count Coffinberry. Critically there is little to be said of the poem, it has faults and blemishes but it is correct in rhythm, accent, rhyme, and flows as gracefully along as the Miami of the Lakes in the leafy month of June.

THE SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS.

BY H. W. COMPTON.

The construction of Fort Meigs by General William Henry Harrison in the early spring of 1813, and its siege by the British general, Proctor, and the renowned chief Tecumseh in May of that year, was one of the important incidents in the war of 1812. But few of those who now look at the ruins of Fort Meigs, slumbering upon the high, grassy plateau opposite the village of Maumee, can realize the fearful struggle that took place amid those peaceful surroundings from May first to May fifth, 1813. The incessant roar of heavy artillery, the ceaseless rattle of musketry, the shock of arms in the onset of contending soldiers, British and American, mingled with the piercing yells of Tecumseh's infuriated savages, for five days and nights, during the frightful siege, broke the quiet of the valley, now dotted with its peaceful homes and prosperous villages. To understand aright the historic importance of Fort Meigs' struggle in the War of 1812 it will be necessary to review the events leading up to the construction of that important stronghold, recount the main events of its successful resistance to armed invasion, and then point out the beneficent result that ensued from the valorous defense by Harrison and his beleaguered heroes.

The War of 1812, or "Madison's War," as it was called by unfriendly critics of the administration, was declared June eighteenth, 1812. There was great opposition to the war in the seaboard states, especially among the bankers, merchants and manufacturers. A war with England was greatly dreaded, as our weak country was then just beginning to recover from its long and exhaustive struggle for independence and was beginning to reap some of the fruits of peace and prosperity. Many believed that we had nothing to gain and much to lose by a war with England, as she had great armies in the field and practically ruled the seas. But the provocation to war was great, and the national pride and indignation of the Americans was roused to the highest pitch by the insolent aggressions of England toward our commerce and our sailors. England's "Orders in Council," in reprisal for


Maumee River
Map of Fort Meigs.
Bottom Land
TRAVERSE
GRAND
A Gun Batteries
B Mortar Battery
C Block Houses
D Look outs
E Old Magazine
F New Magazine
H Gate ways in the Grand Traverse
K Outer Gate ways
M Graves of Officers
N Officers Quarters
P Store Houses
R Forges & Repair Shops
S Burial Ground of Pittsburg Blues
T Garrison Burial Ground

Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, excluded our merchant ships from almost every port of the world, unless the permission of England to trade was first obtained. In defiance of England's paper blockade of the world our ships went forth to trade with distant nations. Hundreds of them were captured, their contents confiscated and the vessels carried as prizes into English ports. But this was not all. The United States recognized the right of an alien to be "naturalized" and become a citizen of this country, but England held to the doctrine, "Once an Englishman always an Englishman." In consequence of this our ships were insolently hailed and boarded by the war sloops and frigates of England and six thousand American sailors in all were dragged from our decks and impressed into the British service. In addition to these insults and aggressions it was well known to the United States that English agents in the Northwest were secretly aiding and encouraging the wild Indian tribes of the Wabash and Lake Superior regions to commit savage depredations upon our frontier settlements. About this time an Indian chieftain of the Shawanese tribe, Tecumseh by name, like King Philip and Pontiac before him, conceived the idea of rallying all the Indian tribes together and driving the white men out of the country.

Tecumseh was of a noble and majestic presence, was possessed of a lofty and magnanimous character and was endowed with a gift of irresistible eloquence. Tecumseh had a brother called the Prophet, who claimed to be able to foretell future events and secure victories and effect marvelous cures by his charms and incantations. Harrison, then governor of the Indiana Territory, was active in securing Indian lands by purchase and treaty for supplying the oncoming tide of white men who pressed hard upon the Indian boundary lines. Tecumseh and the Prophet sent their emissaries abroad and organized a great confederacy which refused to cede the title to the lands of the Wabash valley, as had been agreed upon by separate tribes. They even came down into the valley and built a town where Tippecanoe Creek flows into the Wabash. Harrison, alarmed at these signs of resistance, called the plotters to account. The Prophet, all of whose machinations were based upon fraud and deception, denied everything. But Tecumseh marched proudly down to Vincennes with four

hundred braves behind him and in the council, in a speech of great eloquence and power, set forth the burning wrongs of his people and asked for justice and redress.

When Tecumseh had finished, an officer of the governor pointed to a vacant chair and said, "Your father asks you to take a seat by his side." Tecumseh drew his mantle around him and proudly exclaimed, "My father! The sun is my father, and the earth my mother, in her bosom I will repose." He then calmly seated himself upon the bare ground.

But the plotting and the intriguing among the hostile Indians continued, Tecumseh traveling everywhere and inciting a spirit of war and defiance. Harrison became alarmed at the formidable preparation of the savages and marched from Vincennes with nine hundred soldiers to disperse the hostile camp at Prophet's town on the Wabash at Tippecanoe. The chiefs came out to meet him and with professions of friendship promised on the next day to grant all that he desired. Harrison was deceived by this reception and encamped upon the spot which the chiefs pointed out. In the dark hours of the early morning the treacherous Prophet and his inflamed followers crept silently upon the sleeping soldiers of Harrison, shot the sentinels with arrows and with frightful yells burst into the circle of the camp. At the first fire the well-trained soldiers rolled from their blankets and tents and with fixed bayonets rushed upon their red foes. For two hours a bloody struggle ensued, but the valor and discipline of the whites prevailed. The Indians were scattered and their town was burned. Tecumseh was not present at the battle of Tippecanoe, but the Prophet, at a safe distance upon a wooded height, inspired his braves by wild hallooings and weird incantations. His pretenses were so discredited by the result of the battle that he was driven out of the country and sank into obscurity. But not so with Tecumseh. His heart was filled with rage and hatred against Harrison and the American soldiers. He knew that war was just trembling in the balance between England and the United States. He immediately repaired to Malden at the mouth of the Detroit river and proffered the aid of himself and his confederacy against the United States. This famous battle of Tippecanoe, fought in the dark, November seventh, 1811, was really the first blow

struck in the war which was openly declared in the following June. The Indians now fondly hoped that the English would deliver their country from the grasp of the Americans. And the English on their part were profuse in their promises of speedy deliverance and in their gifts of arms and supplies of all kinds. The war in the west was indeed but another struggle for the possession of the lands between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. And had England won in the contest, not Tecumseh and his confederacy would have had the hunting grounds of their forefathers restored, but Canada would have been enlarged by the addition of the Old Northwest to her own domain. It was far easier for the United States to declare war than to prosecute it to a successful issue. Our country was without an army and without a navy and had but scanty means for creating either. England had armies of experienced veterans and a vast navy. Ohio had less than 250,000 inhabitants and her line of civilized settlements did not extend more than fifty miles north of the Ohio River. Whatever part Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky should play in the contest must be done by conveying troops and munitions of war over a road two hundred miles long through the wilderness.

As the campaign was planned against Canada these supplies for the raw recruits of the west had to be transported northward over roads cut toward Lake Erie and Detroit through the swamps and tangled morasses of the unbroken forest. The line of contest between the two nations was over five hundred miles long, extending from Lake Champlain to Detroit. The Americans held three important points of vantage, Plattsburg, Niagara and Detroit. The British held three on the Canada side of the line, Kingston, Toronto and Malden. At the latter place (now Amherstberg) the British had a fort, a dockyard and a fleet of war vessels, thus controlling Lake Erie. The Americans soon had three armies in the field eager to invade and capture Canada. One under Hull, then governor of Michigan Territory, with two thousand men, was to cross the river at Detroit, take Malden and march eastward through Canada. Another army under Van Rensselaer was to cross the Niagara River, capture Queenstown, effect a junction with Hull and then capture Toronto and march eastward on Montreal. The third army under Dearborn at Plattsburg was to cross

the St. Lawrence, join Hull and Van Rensselaer before Montreal and capture that city. The combined forces were then to march on Quebec, take that city and thus complete the invasion and conquest of Canada. This fine program was not carried out. It would have taken the combined genius of a Napoleon and a Caesar to have executed such a plan of battle over such immense distances.

The plain truth is the Americans had in the field at this time only raw, ill-disciplined troops and absolutely no generals with abilities which fitted them to command such expeditions. Hull, according to orders, crossed the Detroit River to Sandwich and there in vacillating indecision dawdled away the time for several weeks without advancing upon Malden only a few miles away. When he heard that Mackinac Island had fallen into British hands he began to quake in his boots, and thought of retreating. Soon he received news that an Ohio convoy destined for Detroit had been attacked and was in danger of capture. This settled it. Hull quickly retreated across the river to Detroit with all his forces with no thought but for protecting his own line of communication, for he had reached Detroit originally from Urbana by a road which he had cut through the wilderness by way of Kenton and Findlay. Brock, the brave and skillful British general commanding at Malden, immediately followed Hull across the river and demanded the surrender of Detroit with threats of a massacre by his Indian allies if Hull did not comply. To his credit be it said, Hull refused, and the Americans prepared for battle. Brock marched up to within five hundred yards. The Americans were ready and eager for the fray and the artillerymen stood at their guns with lighted matches, when to the dismay and shame of all, the Stars and Stripes was lowered from the flag staff of the fort and the white flag of surrender was run up. Hull had weakened at the last moment and had given up the whole of Michigan Territory, and also Detroit with all its troops, guns and stores, and even surrendered detachments of troops twenty-five miles distant. The officers and soldiers of Hull were overwhelmed with rage and humiliation at this cowardly surrender. The officers broke their swords across their knees and tore the epaulets from their uniforms. Poor old Hull, it is said, had done

good service in the Revolutionary War, but he had reached his dotage and his nerve had departed, and moreover he had a daughter in Detroit whom he dearly loved and on whose account he dreaded an Indian massacre.

Hull's troops had also been greatly diminished in numbers, the government had been negligent in reinforcing him and he was confronted by about one thousand British soldiers and fifteen hundred bloodthirsty Indians. These facts may have helped to lead him into this shameful and cowardly capitulation. Hull was afterwards courtmartialed and tried on three charges of treason, cowardice and conduct unbecoming an officer. He was convicted on the two latter charges and was sentenced to be shot, but was subsequently pardoned on account of former services.

Another disaster in the West accompanied Hull's surrender. When he heard Mackinac had fallen he at once sent Winnimac, a friendly chief, to Chicago, and advised Captain Heald, commanding at Fort Dearborn, to evacuate the fort with his garrison and go to Fort Wayne.

Heald heeded this bad advice. He abandoned the fort with his garrison of about sixty soldiers, together with a number of women and children. He had no sooner left the precincts of the fort than his little company was attacked by a vast horde of treacherous Pottawatomies who had pretended to be friends but who had been inflamed by the speeches and warlike messages of Tecumseh. The little band of whites resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible and defended themselves with the utmost bravery, even the women fighting valiantly beside their husbands. During the fray one savage fiend climbed into a baggage wagon and tomahawked twelve little children who had been placed there for safety. In this unequal contest William Wells, the famous spy who had served Wayne so well, lost his life. Nearly all of the little Chicago garrison were thus massacred in the most atrocious manner. In the meantime Van Renssellaer's army at Niagara had failed to take Queenstown and a part of it under Winfield Scott, after a brave resistance, had been captured. Dearborn's army on Lake Champlain passed the summer in idleness and indecision and accomplished nothing.

Thus closed with failure and disaster the campaign of the year 1812.

January, 1813, opened with still another tragedy of the divest character. General Winchester had been appointed to the chief command of the army of the west after the surrender of Hull; but this appointment raised a storm of opposition among the troops, who desired General Harrison to be in supreme command. Harrison was extremely popular among the soldiers. His great energy and his remarkable military abilities were well known, and, moreover, he was the hero of Tippecanoe. Accordingly, in obedience to the popular demand, Harrison, in September of 1812, was appointed to the chief command of the army of the west. But Winchester still continued to retain an important command, and in January of 1813 he marched his troops from Fort Wayne and Defiance down the north bank of the Maumee, over Wayne's old route, to the foot of the Rapids, in the hope that he might be able to do something to repair the disaster of Hull's surrender. On his arriving at the Rapids, messengers from Frenchtown (now Monroe) informed him that a force of British and Indians were encamped at Frenchtown and were causing the inhabitants great loss and annoyance. Winchester at once set out for Frenchtown and on January nineteenth attacked and completely routed the enemy at that place. Had he then returned to the Rapids he would have escaped the terrible disaster which followed. The full British force was at Malden only eighteen miles away. A force of fifteen hundred British and Indians immediately marched against Winchester and attacked him early on the morning of the twenty-second. The battle was fierce and stubborn. The Americans had no entrenchments or protection of any kind and were overwhelmed by superior numbers. Those who were still alive, after a bloody resistance, were compelled to surrender. Then followed such a scene of carnage as has seldom been witnessed. Proctor, the British commander, stood calmly by while his Indian allies mutilated the dead and inflicted the most awful tortures upon the wounded. Even those who had surrendered upon condition that their lives should be spared were attacked by these savage butchers with knife and tomahawk. The awful deeds that followed the surrender have

covered the name of Proctor with infamy and have made "The Massacre of the Raisin" a direful event in history. When the appalling news of the massacre reached the settlements the people of Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio girded themselves for revenge. Ten thousand troops were raised for Harrison and it was determined to wipe out the disgrace of Hull's surrender and avenge the awful death of comrades and friends so pitilessly and treacherously butchered on the Raisin. "Remember the Raisin," was heard in every camp and issued from between the set teeth of soldiers who in long lines began converging toward the Rapids of the Maumee.

It was under such circumstances as these, with two armies swept away and the country plunged in gloom, that General Harrison began with redoubled energy to get together a third army. He at first thought of withdrawing all troops from northwestern Ohio and retreating toward the interior of the state. But upon second thought he resolved to build a strong fortress upon the southern bank of the Maumee at the foot of the rapids which should be a grand depot of supplies and a base of operations against Detroit and Canada. Early in February of 1813, Harrison, with Captains Wood and Gratiot of the engineer corps, selected the high plateau of the Maumee's southern bank lying just opposite the present village of Maumee. As the British commanded Lake Erie this was a strategic point of great value and lay directly on the road to Canada. Below it armies and heavy guns could not well be conveyed across the impassable marshes and estuaries of the bay. It was a most favorable position for either attack or defense, for advance or retreat, for concentrating the troops and supplies of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, or for effectively repelling the invasion of the British and their horde of savage allies from the north. The construction of the fort was begun in February and originally covered a space of about ten acres. It was completed the last of April, and was named Fort Meigs in honor of Return Jonathan Meigs, then governor of Ohio. The fort was in the form of an irregular ellipse and was enclosed by sharpened palisades fifteen feet long and about twelve inches in diameter, cut from the adjoining forest. In bastions at convenient angles of the fort were erected nine

strong blockhouses equipped with cannon, besides the regular gun and mortar batteries. In the western end of the fort were located the magazine, forges, repair shops, storehouses and the officers' quarters. Harrison knew that Proctor was preparing at Malden for an attack on the fort and that he would appear as soon as the ice was out of Lake Erie. On April twenty-sixth Proctor arrived in the river off the present site of Toledo with four hundred regulars of the Forty-first regiment and eight hundred Canadians, and with a train of heavy battering artillery on board his ships. A force of eighteen hundred Indians under Tecumseh swept across in straggling columns by land from Malden. The British landed at old Fort Miami, a mile below Fort Meigs, on the opposite side of the river. Fort Miami was then in a somewhat ruined condition, as the British had abandoned it shortly after Wayne's victory eighteen years before. It was hastily repaired and occupied by the British, Tecumseh with his Indians encamping close by. The British landed their heavy guns at the watergate of the old fort and laboriously dragged them up the long slope to the high bank above. All night long they toiled in erecting their siege batteries. With teams of oxen and squads of two hundred men to each gun they hauled the heavy ordnance through mud two feet deep from old Fort Miami to the high embankment just opposite Fort Meigs. There, early on the morning of May first, the British had four strong batteries in position, despite the incessant fire which the Americans from Fort Meigs had directed upon them.

These four batteries were known as the King's Battery, the Queens Battery, the Sailor's Battery and the Mortar Battery, the latter throwing destructive bombs of various sizes. Harrison was characterized by great foresight and penetration as a general. On the night the British were planting their batteries, realizing that he had an available force of less than eight hundred men, he dispatched a brave scout, Captain William Oliver, to General Green Clay, who he knew was on the way with a large force of Kentuckians, to bid him hurry forward with his reinforcements. On the same night he set his men to work with spades and threw up the "grand traverse," an embankment of earth extending longitudinally through the middle of the fort, nine hundred feet long, twelve feet high and with a base width of twenty feet. The tents

were taken down and the little army retired behind the great embankment and awaited the coming storm, which broke in fury at dawn, on May first. The British batteries all opened at once with a perfect storm of red-hot solid shot and screaming shells, which fell within the palisades, plowed up the earth of the grand traverse or went hissing over the fort and crashed into the woods beyond. The soldiers protected themselves by digging bomb-proof caves at the base of the grand traverse on the sheltered side, where they were quite secure, unless by chance a spinning shell rolled into one of them. For several days and nights the troops ate and slept in these holes under the embankment, ever ready to rush to the palisades or gates in case of a breach or an assault. During the siege a cold, steady rain set in and the underground bomb-proof retreats gradually filled with water and mud. The soldiers were compelled to take to the open air behind the embankment, where, having become used to the terrible uproar, they ate, slept, joked and played cards. It is related that Harrison offered a reward of a gill of whisky for each British cannon ball that should be returned to the magazine keeper. On a single day of the siege, it is said, a thousand balls were thus secured and hurled back by the American batteries, which constantly replied to the British fire, night and day, frequently dismounting their guns. One of the American militiamen became very expert in detecting the destined course of the British projectiles and would faithfully warn the garrison. He would take his station on the embankment in defiance of danger. When the smoke issued from the gun he would shout, "Shot," or "Bomb," whichever it might be. At times he would say, "Blockhouse No. 1," or "Main battery," as the case might be. Sometimes growing facetious he would yell, "Now for the meat-house," or if the shot was high he would exclaim, "Now, good-bye, if you will pass." In spite of danger and protests he kept his post. One day he remained silent and puzzled, as the shot came in the direct line of his vision. He watched and peered while the ball came straight on and dashed him to fragments. On the third night of the siege a detachment of British, together with a large force of Indians, crossed the river below Fort Meigs and, passing up a little ravine, planted on its margin, southeast

of the fort, and within two hundred and fifty yards, two new batteries.

The garrison was now subjected to a terrible crossfire, and the Indians, climbing trees in the vicinity, poured in a galling rifle fire, killing some and wounding many of the garrison. On the morning of the fourth of May, Proctor sent to Harrison a demand for the surrender of the fort. Harrison replied to the officer who bore Proctor's demand, "Tell your general that if he obtains possession of this fort it will be under circumstances that will do him far more honor than would my surrender." And again the ceaseless bombardment on both sides began. On the night of May fourth Captain Oliver crept into the fort under cover of darkness and informed Harrison that General Green Clay with twelve hundred Kentucky militia was at that moment descending the Maumee in eighteen large barges and could reach the fort in two hours, but would await the orders of Harrison. The command was immediately sent out for Clay to come down the river, land eight hundred men on the northern bank, seize and spike the British cannon and then immediately cross the river to Fort Meigs. The other four hundred Kentuckians were ordered to land on the southern bank directly under the fort and fight their way in at the gates, the garrison in the meantime making sallies to aid in the movement. Colonel Dudley, being second in command, led the van and landed his boats about one mile above the British batteries on the northern bank of the river. He formed his eight hundred men in three lines and marched silently down upon the batteries in the darkness. The Kentuckians took the British completely by surprise. They closed in upon the guns and charged with the bayonet, the artillery men and Indians fleeing for their lives. They spiked the British guns and rolled some of them down the embankment, but unfortunately the spiking was done with ramrods instead of with the usual steel implements, and the British subsequently put the guns in action again. Had the Americans now obeyed the orders of Harrison and crossed the river and entered the fort all would have been well. But the Kentucky militia were eager for a fight, and elated by their success in capturing the batteries, they began a pursuit of the fleeing

Indians. In vain they were called to by friends from Fort Meigs, who saw their danger.

Wildly the cheering Kentucklians dashed into the forest after the flying savages, who artfully led them on. Then deep in the recesses of the forest a multitude of savages rose up around them. Tomahawks were hurled at them and shots came thick and fast from behind trees and bushes. Realizing that they had fallen into an ambuscade, they began a hasty and confused retreat toward the batteries. But in the meantime the British regulars had come up from old Fort Miami and thrown themselves between the river and the retreating Americans. About one hundred and fifty cut their way through and escaped across the river. At least two hundred and fifty were cut to pieces by the savages and about four hundred were captured. The prisoners were marched down to the old fort to be put on board ships. On the way the Indians began butchering the helpless prisoners.

Tecumseh, far more humane than his white allies, hearing of the massacre, dashed up on his horse, and seeing two Indians butchering an American, he brained one with his tomahawk and felled the other to the earth. Drake states that on this occasion Tecumseh seemed rent with grief and passion and cried out, "Oh, what will become of my poor Indians!" Seeing Proctor standing near, Tecumseh sternly asked him why he had not stopped the inhuman massacre. "Sir, your Indians cannot be commanded," replied Proctor. "Begone, you are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats," retorted Tecumseh. After this incident the prisoners were not further molested.

On the other side of the river events had gone quite differently. The four hundred who landed on the south bank, with the help of a sallying party, after a bloody struggle, succeeded in entering the fort. At the same time the garrison made a brilliant sortie from the southern gate and attacked the batteries on the ravine. They succeeded in spiking all the guns and captured forty-two prisoners, two of them British officers. After this an armistice occurred for burying the dead and exchanging prisoners. Harrison prudently took advantage of the lull in the conflict to get the ammunition and supplies, that had come on the boats, into the fort. The batteries then again resumed fire, but

the Indians had become weary of the siege, a method of warfare so much opposed to their taste and genius. They had become glutted, too, with blood and scalps, and were heavily laden with the spoils of Dudley's massacred troops. So in spite of Tecumseh's protests, they gradually slipped away in the forest toward their northern homes. Proctor now became disheartened by the desertion of his allies and feared the coming of more reinforcements for Harrison. The Stars and Stripes still waved above the garrison, and Fort Meigs was stronger and more impregnable than ever. Sickness broke out among the British troops encamped upon the damp ground and squads of the Canadian militia began to desert, stealing away under cover of darkness. Tecumseh, unconquerable and determined, still remained upon the ground with four hundred braves of his own tribe, the Shawanese.

Few of the present day can know or even imagine the horrible scenes that took place within the precincts of Tecumseh's camp shortly after the massacre of Dudley's troops. A British officer who took part in the siege, writing in 1826, tells of a visit to the Indian camp on the day after the massacre. The camp was filled with the clothes and plunder stripped from the slaughtered soldiers and officers. The lodges were adorned with saddles, bridles and richly ornamented swords and pistols. Swarthy savages strutted about in cavalry boots and the fine uniforms of American officers. The Indian wolf dogs were gnawing the bones of the fallen. Everywhere were scalps and the skins of hands and feet stretched on hoops, stained on the fleshy side with vermillion, and drying in the sun. At one place was found a circle of Indians seated around a huge kettle boiling fragments of slaughtered American soldiers, each Indian with a string attached to his particular portion. Being invited to partake of the hideous repast, the officer relates that he and his companion turned away in loathing and disgust, excusing themselves with the plea that they had already dined. On the ninth of May, despairing of reducing Fort Meigs, Proctor anchored his gunboats under the batteries, and although subjected to constant fire from the Americans, embarked his guns and troops and sailed away to Malden. But before dismounting the batteries, they all fired at once a parting salute, by which ten or twelve of the Americans were killed and

about twenty-five wounded. Thus for about twelve days was the beleaguered garrison hemmed in by the invading horde. The Americans suffered them to depart without molestation, for, as one of the garrison said, "We were glad to be rid of them on any terms." The same writer says: "The next morning found us somewhat more tranquil. We could leave the ditches and walk about with more of an air of freedom than we had done for fourteen days; and I wish I could present to the reader a picture of the condition we found ourselves in when the withdrawal of the enemy gave us time to look at each other's outward appearance. The scarcity of water had put the washing of our hands and faces, much less our linen, out of the question. Many had scarcely any clothing left, and that which they had was so begrimed and torn by our residence in the ditch and other means, that we presented the appearance of so many scarecrows." Proctor appeared again in the river ten days later, with his boats, and Tecumseh with his Indians, and remained in the vicinity of the fort from July twentieth to the twenty-eighth. This visitation constitutes what has been called the second siege of Fort Meigs. Their force this time is said to have consisted of about five thousand whites and Indians, but they attempted no bombardment and no assault. The Indians contented themselves with capturing and murdering a party of ten Americans whom they caught outside the fort. It was during this siege that the Indians and British secreted themselves in the woods southeast of the fort and got up a sham battle among themselves, with great noise and firing, in order to draw out the garrison. But this ruse did not deceive General Clay, then in command, although many of the soldiers angrily demanded to be led out to the assistance of comrades who, they imagined, had been attacked while coming to relieve the besieged garrison. On the twenty-eighth Proctor and his Indian allies again departed, going to attack Fort Stephenson, whose glorious victory under young Crogan was one of the great achievements of the War of 1812.

During the siege of Fort Meigs from May first to the fifth, beside the massacred troops of Colonel Dudley, the garrison, in sorties and within the fort, had eighty-one killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. The sunken and grass-grown graves

of the heroes who lost their lives at Fort Meigs are still to be seen upon the spot.

The events that followed the heroic resistance of Fort Meigs are no doubt too well known to require narration.

The famous victory of Perry in the following September cleared Lake Erie of the British fleet. Proctor and Tecumseh fled from Malden and Harrison's army pursued, overtaking them at the Thames. There the British were completely routed and the brave Tecumseh was slain. This put an end to the war in the West and Michigan and Detroit again became American possessions.

The important part which Fort Meigs played in the war can now be seen. It was the rallying point for troops, and the great storehouse of supplies for the western army. It was the Gibraltar of the Maumee valley and rolled back the tide of British invasion while Perry was cutting his green ship timbers from the forest around Erie, and it was to Harrison at Fort Meigs that Perry's world-famed dispatch came when the British fleet had struck their colors off Put-in-Bay: "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop." All honor to old Fort Meigs! The rain and the frost and the farmer's plow are fast obliterating the ruins of the grand old stronghold that once preserved the great Northwest for the United States. Little remains there now, where the roar of battle broke the air, and the devoted band of patriots stood their ground under the shower of iron hail and shrieking shells that for days were hurled upon them. The long green line of the grand traverse, with its four gateways, still stretches across the plain and the peaceful kine are browsing along its sides. And nearby, sunken, unmarked, weed-grown and neglected, are the graves of the heroic dead who fell in the fearful strife.

[The foregoing paper was read by Mr. Compton at the annual meeting of the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, at Bowling Green, Ohio, August 16, 1900.—E. O. R.—Editor.]

JOHN A. BINGHAM.

ADDRESS OF HON. J. B. FORAKER ON THE OCCASION OF THE UNVEILING OF MONUMENT IN HONOR OF HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM, AT CADIZ, OHIO, OCTOBER 5, 1901.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens:

The private life and character of John A. Bingham were the special possessions of this community.

You were his neighbors and friends.

He came and went in your midst.

You were in daily contact with him.

You knew him under all the varying circumstances of his long and eventful career.

You saw him tested by the trying vicissitudes of the tempestuous times with which his most conspicuous public service was identified.

You knew better than anybody else can his private life and character, and time and again you honored him with your confidence and attested your high estimate of his personal worth, his integrity, and his splendid qualities of nature and heart.

It would be almost out of place for me to speak of him on these points in this presence.

As to his public life, it is different. It is the common property of the whole country — mine as well as yours. This monument is in its honor and this occasion calls for its review.

The first twenty-five years of his life were spent in preparation; the last fifteen in retirement.

The other forty-five years that he lived were devoted almost exclusively to the public service.

He entered upon his career with a mind all aflame with zeal for the great work in which he was to engage.

He dealt with all the economic questions of his day — finance, taxation, national banks, the tariff, and public improvements; but the subjects with which his fame is linked were slavery, secession, rebellion, and reconstruction.

To intelligently appreciate his work, we must approach it as he did.

Slavery was a disquieting subject when the Union was organized and the Constitution was adopted. It was only by compromise, aided and made possible by the hope, then generally entertained, that slavery would somehow be soon abolished, that success was achieved.

But slavery did not perish, as anticipated. On the contrary, it grew in strength.

HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM.

The development of the cotton industry and the adaptability to it of slave labor gave the South a new and an increased interest in the maintenance of the institution. As a result, it soon became a political question.

It assumed threatening proportions when the admission of Missouri as a State to the Union, with a slave constitution, was proposed in 1818.

The debates that ensued took on a sectional aspect which was made permanent and intensified by the Missouri Compromise, effected in 1820, according to which both Maine and Missouri were admitted — one free and the other slave; and it was stipulated and enacted that never thereafter should any State be admitted with slavery north of 36° 30′ north latitude.

Both Democrats and Whigs undertook to treat the line so drawn as a permanent settlement of the territorial rights of slavery, and a period of comparative political peace followed.

For twenty years both Whigs and Democrats devoted themselves to business questions, and, so far as they were concerned, succeeded in keeping slavery effectually in the background.

But God was marching on.

While Clay and Jackson and their respective adherents were battling over the issues they saw fit to make with each other, a new political force was entering the arena, at first weak and unnoticed except to be despised, but destined to grow strong enough to overthrow both parties and compel reorganization on new lines that had direct reference to slavery.

This new force assumed a party name and made its first appearance as a national organization in 1840, the same year that Mr. Bingham was admitted to the bar.

He was then twenty-five years of age, and blessed with a thoroughly sound mind in a thoroughly sound body. His life had been one of struggle and endeavor. It had strongly developed his great mental powers. He had a natural aptitude for public affairs. This quality was intensified by the discussion of the times. Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, Van Buren, Benton, Marcy, Corwin, Chase, and their associates were the political leaders then on the stage of action. When they spoke they challenged attention and aroused all the mental activities that men possessed.

The preparatory steps could not have been better ordered if they had been taken with special reference to the famous log cabin, coon-skin, and hard cider campaign that marked the year of Mr. Bingham's first appearance in public and made the hero of Tippecanoe President of the United States.

There was intense excitement everywhere. All classes of people talked politics and little else.

Mr. Bingham's tastes and acquirements were such that he would have doubtless drifted into the discussion if conditions had been normal, but under the circumstances that obtained, he could not have kept out if he had tried.

He actively participated and at once attracted attention and commanded respect for his ability, logic, and oratory.

That campaign, with all its excitements, was not, however, of a character to call forth his full powers. The Whig party, to which he belonged, had no platform except their candidate, and only economic questions were involved in the discussion.

The great moral question that was so soon to absorb all attention was kept in the background.

It appeared in the contest, but only as a little cloud on the horizon no bigger than a man's hand.

It was represented by the Abolition party which then, for the first time, placed a candidate in the field; but he received from all the States an aggregate of less than 7,000 votes. This did not affect the result. It showed less strength than had been conceded. It was thought the result would discourage the cause, but its champions were resolute, determined men of a high order of ability, who, acting upon conviction, had no thought of surrender.

Ridicule, derision, and mob violence — to all of which they were subjected — only inflamed their zeal. The names of Owen Lovejoy, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and many others associated with them as leaders in this movement, were soon to become familiar to the American people.

They were commonly abused, maligned, hated, and detested, but they held steadily to their work, commanded attention, and constantly increased their followers.

Events helped them.

Harrison was dead and Tyler had succeeded to the Presidency. He quarreled with the Whigs, who had elected him, and undertook to secure the support of the Democrats by making John C. Calhoun his Secretary of State. Calhoun disliked him, but two considerations moved him to accept; one was the opportunity it gave him to serve the South by bringing about the annexation of Texas and thus adding to the area of slave territory, and the other was the chance it thereby gave him to overthrow Van Buren, to whose leadership and candidacy for renomination as the Democratic candidate in 1844 he was openly and bitterly opposed.

He was not long in solidifying the South in favor of annexation. That brought the slavery question at once to the front and, with singular fatality, destroyed both Clay and Van Buren.

To hold his strength in the North, Van Buren announced that he was opposed to annexation. The result was that while he had a majority of the delegates, the South controlled more than one-third of the convention and, consequently, under the two-thirds rule, his nomination became impossible, and James K. Polk was made the nominee and Van Buren's leadership was ended forever.

Mr. Clay was under the same compulsion. He could not be elected unless he could hold his northern strength, and therefore he opposed annexation. This gave him the nomination, and undoubtedly would have given him also the election if he had not, in the midst of the campaign, to mollify the dissatisfied Whigs of the South, written his famous Alabama letter, in which he virtually retracted his former declaration, by naming conditions under which he would favor annexation.

Until the writing of this letter, his position was satisfactory to all the anti-slavery Whigs of the North: but his letter was regarded as a virtual surrender of what had become the all-absorbing question of the contest, and, as a result, thousands of men who had become hostile to slavery broke away from a party that no longer gave hope of earnest opposition to its aggravating pretensions.

The result of the election depended on New York, and the defection was so great in that State that, with the loss of the heavily increased Abolition vote, the Whigs were defeated. The electorial vote went to Polk, and he was made President of the United States, in the interests of slavery, by the combined vote of the Abolitionists and the slaveholders and their sympathizers.

The result was strangely and almost mysteriously reached, but it was of most momentous character.

Clay was defeated, and the hearts of his followers were broken. It seemed to them a strange and unjust dispensation of Providence. They could not understand it, and for a time refused to be reconciled. Men who had been watching, hoping, and

praying for the decline and extinction of slavery as necessary to the peace and preservation of the Union, viewed the acquisition of Texas with alarm and despair.

But the hand of God was in it all, and what was then so incomprehensible has been made plain by His unfolded purposes.

Except only then and in the manner in which it was effected, Texas probably never could have been peaceably added to the United States. But however that may be, its acquisition was the beginning of the "irrepressible conflict."

The issue was joined and the battle was to the death which was to determine whether this country should be all slave or all free.

The war with Mexico accentuated the dispute and made sectional differences irreconcilable.

Although slavery was all the while at the bottom of the controversy, yet it from time to time took on various forms of discussion.

Thoughtful conservative men taxed their powers and their ingenuity to devise methods and measures to allay discussion and appease the demands of public sentiment, but no sooner was one question settled than another arose, and thus the tide, although at time apparently subsiding, was constantly rising until, finally, sweeping all before it, the dread alternative of arms was reached and the ultimate settlement was made in blood.

The South, foreseeing that the North was outstripping her in the growth of population and political power, and that the time would inevitably come when she could no longer retain control of the Government, espoused the doctrine of secession, according to which any State had a constitutional right to withdraw from the Union whenever it might see fit to do so. She intended by this rule which she could and then destroy when control was lost and on the ruins build anew with slavery as the chief corner-stone of her structure.

At the same time arose the question of the rights of slavery in the Territories, and John C. Calhoun, to give it a status there and make more slave States possible, advanced the doctrine, of which we have recently heard so much, that the Constitution fol-

THE BINGHAM MONUMENT.

lowed the flag, and hence gave the same protection to slave ownership there that it gave in the States.

The Wilmot Proviso, the Lecompton Constitution, squatter sovereignty, the Fugitive Slave Law, the Dred Scott Decision, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act are names and phrases that suggest the varying and succeeding phases of the discussion and subordinate questions and propositions, about which there is no time to speak adequately within the limitations of this occasion.

It is enough to say they mark the character and the progress of the political debates in which Mr. Bingham became an active participator.

It is no exaggeration to say that they were the greatest questions the American people had dealt with since the Government was organized, and the men who conducted the debate were the ablest since the formative period of the Republic.

To attain prominence and distinction among them and be a leader of such leaders was the uncommon honor Mr. Bingham achieved.

In 1848, when he was but thirty-three years of age, he was made a delegate to the National Whig Convention at Philadelphia, and, by what seemed at the time a fruitless effort, made for himself, at one stroke, a national reputation.

It was known before the convention met that General Taylor would be its nominee, but its platform declarations had not been determined.

The slavery question was uppermost in the minds of all; yet both the Democrats and Whigs were anxious to evade it — the Democrats, to save their strength in the North, and the Whigs to hold their strength in the South. Accordingly, to the keen disappointment of thousands of their respective followers, both conventions practically ignored the whole slavery question.

The Whigs were saved at the election by the Free Soilers, who drew largely from the Democrats but only slightly from the Whigs because of their dislike of Van Buren, who headed the movement as its candidate.

Taylor was elected, but his party was incapable because it did not have the courage of its convictions.

It went to pieces while in power, as all such parties will, and, with the humiliating defeat of General Scott in 1852, gave way to the Republican party born of the people to do their will.

"All is well that ends well," and, therefore, measured by what followed, it is well that the Whig party perished.

But if Mr. Bingham had been allowed his way, the Whig party need not have died. It might not have elected Taylor, but it would have marshalled later the triumphant forces led by Lincoln.

He showed his grasp of the situation and his knowledge of its requirements, as well as his convictions of right and his courage to maintain them, when, in that convention, he offered the famous resolution which you have carved on his monument, that it may be linked with him in death as it was inseparable in life —

> "NO MORE SLAVE STATES; NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORIES — THE MAINTENANCE OF FREEDOM WHERE FREEDOM IS AND THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY."

These sharp, decisive sentences, going to the very marrow of the political contentions of the time, were rejected by the convention, but they cut into the hearts of men and made the name of John A. Bingham dear to every enemy of slavery.

They crystallized a sentiment and formulated a policy.

They appealed to the conscience and gave an intelligent and inspiring purpose to political action.

It is difficult for us, in the light of the present, to realize the full measure of credit to which Mr. Bingham is entitled for the courage he displayed in thus firmly and explicitly taking such a stand.

The evil of slavery, the curse it was to the country, and the blessings that have resulted from its extinction, are all so manifest that we are not surprised to learn that men were then opposed to it; on the contrary, it seems so natural that it should have had opposition that we wonder rather that anybody should have de-

fended it; but prevailing public sentiment on the subject was then radically different from that which it was destined soon to become.

The institution was recognized and protected by the Constitution. It could not be interfered with in the States without violating that organic law and also numerous statutory provisions that had been enacted in its behalf.

It involved great moneyed interests and was upheld by prejudices in its favor throughout the North as well as in the South. It was like striking at the law, order, and peace of the nation to attack or criticise it.

Some idea of the sensitiveness that prevailed with respect to it is given by what has been said as to the disposition of the two great parties and their respective leaders to keep it out of the politics of the times.

Bingham had to brave all this and did.

He took the lead, while change of sentiment was inaugurated by the discussion he provoked, yet four years later, when 1852 came, so little progress had been made that the Whig party approved in its platform all the pro-slavery legislation that had been enacted, expressly including the iniquitous fugitive slave law "as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions" that had been raised in regard to slavery, and pledged itself to "discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."

These declarations were intended to suppress the Binghams and all the other troublesome agitators. They failed in their purpose, but they show the deplorable state to which the Whig party had been reduced by the cowardice of its leaders in the presence of that great question.

They also show how far Mr. Bingham was in advance of public sentiment and to what extent he was defying it; they show, too, how he was at variance with his party and practically in rebellion against it.

It is easy for a young, ambitious man to go with the current and stand in line with his party, but only the man with clear judg-

ment, conscientious scruples, and approved courage will disregard these considerations and stand by his conceptions of right, truth, and justice.

That is what Mr. Bingham determined to do, and he did it.

He did not have to wait long for the reward of vindication. It came with the birth of the Republican party, which espoused the sentiments he had avowed and sent him to Congress in 1854 at the early age of thirty-nine years.

His record there covers sixteen years of service so faithful and so distinguished that its history is for that period by the history of his party and his country.

He served on the most important committees and held the most important chairmanships. He gave diligent and unremitting attention to all the work assigned him. He participated in all the debates that occurred and always showed a learning, a research, an ability, a readiness, and an oratory that gave him a first rank among the great men of that great time. He was a veritable pillar of strength to the cause of freedom, the cause of the Union, and the cause of reconstruction. His speeches were so numerous and so notable that anything like a proper review of them in detail would require a volume. But, as showing the political atmosphere by which he was surrounded, the spirit of bitterness that entered into the debates in which he participated, and also to show his ability, his eloquence, and his intense earnestness, one of his earliest efforts may be mentioned.

The first session of Congress in which he sat as a member, commenced in December, 1855.

The struggle of the slave power to capture Kansas and Nebraska was then ripening to its climax.

The question entered into the organization of the House of Representatives, and many weeks passed, filled with angry debate, before Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, was finally chosen to be Speaker over William Aiken of South Carolina.

Mr. Bingham took a modest, yet, for a new member, a very prominent part in this struggle.

It was scarcely ended until he made his first formal speech. Kansas was his theme, and it is enough to say that he did the subject justice.

But a few weeks later, he thrilled with pride and enthusiasm the hearts of his associates and followers throughout the nation and correspondingly angered and inflamed his opponents by his burning words of denunciation of slavery spoken in the debate on the resolution to expel Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, from the House of Representatives, because of his brutal attack on Charles Sumner, whom he struck down and beat almost to death with his cane on the floor of the Senate for words spoken, as a Senator from Massachusetts, against slavery and its aggressions in the Territories.

This debate was one of the most bitter that preceded the war. Mr. Bingham took the floor to make immediate answer to Mr. Clingman of North Carolina, who, in common with his fellow members from the South, who participated in the debate, had most abusively spoken of Mr. Sumner and of all who sympathized with the doctrines enunciated by him in the great speech that provoked the assault.

The brutal character of this speech, added to the brutal assault, had thoroughly aroused Mr. Bingham. It stirred him to his very depths. As a result, he rose to the highest flights of eloquence.

An extract will show not only his ability, his oratory, his eloquence, his fearlessness, and his powers of vehement invective, but also the general character of the discussions of that time. In the course of his speech he said:

"The brilliant and distinguished Senator from Massachusetts is the subject of this assault — that Senator who, notwithstanding the attempt of the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Clingman) to defame him, holds now, and will hold, a large place in the affection and admiration of his countrymen. That Senator, sir, denounced the audacious crime which is being committed in Kansas. In his place as Senator, he made a powerful and convincing argument against the unparalleled conspiracy which is subjecting that young empire of the West to a cruel and relentless tyranny — a tyranny which inflicts death on citizens guilty of no offense against the laws; which sacks their towns and plunders and burns their habitations; which legalizes, throughout that vast extent of territory, chattel slavery, — that crime of crimes, — that sum of all villainies, which makes merchandise of immortality, and, like the curse of Kehama, smites the earth with barrenness — that crime which blasts the human intellect and blights the human heart, and maddens the human

brain, and crushes the human soul — that crime which puts out the light and hushes the sweet voices of home — which shatters its altars and scatters darkness and desolation over its hearthstone — that crime which dooms men to live without knowledge, to toil without reward, to die without hope — that crime which sends little children to the shambles and makes the mother forget her love for her child in the wild joy she feels that through untimely death inflicted by her own hands, she has saved her offspring from this damning curse, and sent its infant spirit free from this horrid taint, back to the God that gave it.

"Against this infernal and atrocious tyranny upheld and being accomplished through a tremendous conspiracy, the Senator from Massachusetts, faithful to his convictions, faithful to the holy cause of liberty, faithful to his country and his God, entered his protest, and uttered his manly and powerful denunciation.

* * * *

"That Senator, sir, comes from Massachusetts, where are Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill and the Rock of the Pilgrims — 'where every sod's a soldier's sepulchre' — where are the foot-prints of the apostles and martyrs of freedom — that State which allowed a trembling fugitive, fleeing only for his liberty, to lay his weary limbs to rest upon Warren's grave — that State whose mighty heart throbbed with human sympathy for the flying bondman who, guilty of no crime under the forms of law, but in violaton of its true spirit, walked in chains beneath the shadow of Faneuil Hall, where linger the sacred memories of the past and the echoes of those burning words, Death or deliverance."

It would be a pleasing task to cite and dwell upon many other of the great speeches he made, but time will not permit. His many important public services as counsel for the Government in the causes he tried as Judge Advocate General by appointment of Abraham Lincoln, whose confidence and friendship he enjoyed to the fullest degree, must be passed over unmentioned for the same reason.

So, also, the important and conspicuous service he rendered as manager on behalf of the House of Representatives in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

This may be done with much less regret, because, notwithstanding their distinguished character, they were transient in their nature. His many permanent services are all important. None can be mentioned and analyzed except with interest and profit; but one will suffice. It is undoubtedly his most important; it is also characteristic of the man and representative of the high plane upon which he labored.

The great purpose of his resolution of 1848, had been fully accomplished. The further extension of slavery had been stopped by the advent of the Republican party to power, and the system itself had perished amid the flames of war. That result had been sealed by the adoption of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The war was ended. Secession was dead and all men were free, but it seemed as though statesmanship had but reached the beginning of its troubles.

The changes wrought had given birth to new and most perplexing problems. Were the States that had been in rebellion in or out of the Union? And whether in or out, how were they to be restored to their proper statal relations to the general Government? Under the Constitution as it existed before the war, slaves could not vote, but, in determining the basis of representation in Congress and the Electoral College, five slaves were counted as three voters.

There were no more slaves. They were freedmen — a new class. Should they be allowed to vote? And, if not, should they be included in the basis of representation? And, if so included, should the three-fifths rule continue or should each man be a unit?

There was grave concern about the payment of the tremendous national debt that had been contracted to save the Union and serious apprehension on the subject of pensions for our soldiers and the possible assumption, at some time in the future, of the Confederate debt and the payment of claims for the liberation of slaves that had been freed.

The peace of the country required a prompt and final settlement of all these questions.

The policy of Andrew Johnson precluded any such settlement, for his contention was that the States were not only indestructible, but that in every legal sense of the word, they were still in the Union, and that no legislation of either a constitutional or a statutory character was necessary to restore them to their proper relations to the General Government.

Without waiting for Congress to take any action, he proceeded, by proclamation, to authorize the organization of provincial legislatures, and they in turn, selected United States Senators and provided for the election of Representatives in Congress.

The extreme danger to which the country was subjected by such a policy was forcibly illustrated when, as a result of it, Alexander H. Stephens, late Vice-President of the so-called Southern Confederacy, appeared in Washington at the opening of Congress in December, 1865 — only a few months after Appomattox — with a commission to represent his State in the Senate of the United States, and demanded a seat in that body.

If a full representation of the rebellious States was thus to be allowed in the administration of the Government, the friends of the Union might speedily lose control of it, and thus, by ballots, the forces of secession would be enabled to accomplish what they had failed to do with bullets.

It was soon manifest that there could not be any reconstruction of the Union without Congressional action and that to make the settlement of the war final, it would be necessary to embody it in the Constitution itself, where it would be placed beyond repeal or modification except by the sovereign power of the people.

Thus the 14th Amendment became necessary.

Some of the admirers of Mr. Bingham have claimed for him practically all the credit of drafting that amendment and securing its adoption. That is more credit than he is entitled to receive.

The 14th Amendment was, of itself, a great instrument second in importance and dignity to only the Constitution itself. It was not struck off in a moment by the hand of any one man, or as the product of any one mind. Many men contributed to it; many events led up to it.

But while Mr. Bingham is not entitled to the credit of sole authorship, he is entitled to the very high credit of being one of the very first to recognize its necessity and to take the initial steps that ultimately resulted in its adoption.

He introduced in the House a joint resolution providing for such an addition to our organic law. The record does not disclose the exact language he employed, but enough is given to show that as to its principal clauses, his language was practically the same as that finally adopted.

This is especially true as to the franchise clause. For this provision, he is, no doubt, entitled to more credit than any other

man, and that is credit enough, for it is, indeed, credit of the highest character.

The record shows, as might be expected, that other resolutions similar to his and a number of forms of amendment were introduced in both the House and the Senate, and that it was only after consideration of all, by the proper committees, that, with various changes, the amendment was finally adopted in the consolidated form in which it was ratified by the States.

It was a comprehensive instrument. It dealt with the public debt to make it sacred; including pensions and obligations on account of bounties to Union soldiers and provided against all forms of denial or repudiation.

It prohibited the assumption by the United States or any State of any and all debts contracted to aid the rebellion or for payment for emancipated slaves.

It fixed the rule of eligibility to hold office for all who had taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and had afterward participated in the rebellion.

It fixed the basis of representation according to the number of authorized voters, but left it optional with each State to enfranchise freemen or not; the sole disadvantage imposed if they did not, being a corresponding curtailment of representation or diminution of political power.

This and the provision defining citizenship of the United States were the most important provisions of the amendment. All others were temporary in character, while these were for all time. These two — citizenship and suffrage — were the great crucial points in the settlement of the differences that had led to the war and of rights and demands that had grown out of that great struggle.

The propriety of defining citizenship of the United States is so manifest that it may be dismissed without comment, other than that it is a matter of wonderment that the Constitution, as originally framed, should have omitted so important a clause.

The right of suffrage conferred upon the negro and the basis of representation established by the amendment must be considered together.

The old basis of representation was manifestly no longer appropriate. The slaves were free and must be treated as free men. If they were to be counted at all in determining the basis of representation, they must be counted as men and not as chattels. The sole question was whether or not they should be included at all in the enumeration.

The conclusion reached was that they should not be included unless given the right of suffrage; and that this right should be conferred or not, at the option of each State.

Such was Mr. Bingham's provision, as originally proposed by him, and such was the provision as it was incorporated into the amendment as finally ratified and adopted. This was the sole requirement as to the Negro imposed by the Government as a condition precedent to the resumption by the rebellious States of their full relations to the Government.

It left the whole subject of Negro suffrage in their own hands, to deal with as they saw fit. They could give it or withhold it. If they saw fit to let the negroes vote, they could count them in determining how many Representatives they should have in Congress and how many votes they should have for President and Vice-President in the electoral college. If they did not let them vote, they could not include them in the basis of representation.

That this was a generous proposition and a fair one to the South does not admit of argument. It was prompted by a desire to speedily restore the Union and was made in the belief that the South would show its appreciation for the spirit of generosity and good will involved, by a ready and cheerful acceptance.

This expectation was disappointed.

Emboldened by the attitude of President Andrew Johnson, the provisional legislatures he had called into existence and which were composed almost entirely of ex-Confederate officers and soldiers, rejected the amendment by a practically unanimous vote and with evidences of scorn, contempt and hostility.

They had come to believe that they would be allowed to resume their relations to the National Government without any terms or conditions whatever, as the President proposed, and

that, so restored to all the sovereign rights of States in the Union, they would keep themselves free to act without restraint or restriction of any kind.

It quickly developed that they had a program to practically nullify emancipation by reducing the freedman to a worse condition of slavery than that from which he had been released.

They inaugurated it by acts of legislation that provided heavy fines of $50 or $100, and other such amounts, to be imposed on all who might be found loitering without work, and, in default of payment, hiring them out — selling them — for six months or a year, or other period, as the case might be, to the highest bidder.

The poor Negro, just emancipated, had neither work nor money. By refusing him employment, he was compelled to "loiter," and having no money with which to pay his fine, he was "hired" to the highest bidder, who had no interest in either his health or his life beyond the term for which he was hired.

Truly his last estate was worse than his first.

Many similar statutes were passed, but perhaps the most inexcusable was enacted in Louisiana, where, among others, it was provided that every adult freedman should provide himself with a comfortable home within twenty days after the passage of the act, and, failing to do so, should be "hired" at public outcry to the highest bidder for the period of one year.

Such legislation was barbarous, inexcusable and intolerable. It meant that if allowed to have their own way about it, that defeated confederates would bring to naught all that had been accomplished.

It was, therefore, not a matter of choice but a matter of compulsion that impelled Congress. It determined to abolish the provisional legislatures, divide the South into military districts, and organize State governments and legislatures composed of only loyal Union men, and then submit anew the 14th Amendment for ratification.

This proposition — the famous Reconstruction Bill — excited the most bitter, protracted, and the most important debate that has ever occurred in the American Congress.

Mr. Bingham was at the very forefront in it all. From beginning to end, he was untiring. His unwavering and masterful

support of the measure made him a conspicuous figure not only in Congress, but before the whole nation.

The measure was passed. The Southern State governments were reconstructed. The 14th Amendment was re-submitted, ratified and adopted.

There has been much angry criticism of the Republican party for this procedure, intensified by the unsatisfactory character of the carpet-bag State governments and legislatures — as they were called at the time — that were thus temporarily forced upon the South, but it has been without just foundation.

The men who were responsible for the reconstruction measure and the carpet-bag governments were the men of the South, who, misled by President Johnson, undertook to dictate the manner of restoring the Union, and, in that behalf, to put in jeopardy all the results of the war, including the liberty and freedom of the unoffending blacks who were, in a special sense, the helpless wards of the nation.

It was in the same spirit and for the same reason that the 15th Amendment followed, providing that neither the United States nor any State should deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Had the 14th Amendment been adopted when first submitted, as it should have been, there would not have been a 15th Amendment, because it would have been impossible, with the Southern States restored to the Union, as the 14th Amendment proposed, thereafter to have secured for a 15th Amendment a ratification by three-fourths of the States, and thus would the whole subject of Negro suffrage have remained, as was originally intended, under the control of the States, with the option to each State to grant or refuse it, as it might prefer.

If, therefore, there was fault in providing for universal manhood suffrage, it must be laid at the door of the men who, rejecting the 14th Amendment and threatening to bring to naught all the blood and treasure that had been expended, created a necessity for the more drastic measures that were adopted.

But there was no fault.

Both amendments were right. The perverse blindness and obduracy of the South were but the Providentially designed precipitating causes necessary to excite the men upon whom rested the responsibilities of that hour to the fearless and unflinching performance of the full measure of their duty.

To our finite minds, much less good has come from the 15th Amendment than we had a right to expect, but the time is coming when the legal status thus given the black man will be his practically and universally recognized status in all the States of this Union.

HON. J. B. FORAKER

What is right will ultimately prevail.

Until then the irrepressible conflict will continue. Human liberty and human equality involve principles of truth and justice that cannot be forever suppressed and disregarded. Efforts of such character, whether by State or individuals, will but call attention to the wrongs of denial and hasten the day of final triumph.

These events mark an epoch in the world's history. The humblest part in such achievements is highly creditable; but to have been a moving and controlling cause and factor, an eloquent, uncompromising, and commanding leader and champion was the high privilege and imperishable honor of John A. Bingham.

His work will stand as long as the Republic endures, and through all the years it remains it will bring rich blessings to millions.

His life drew gently to a close. His noontime was full of storm and turbulence; his afternoon and evening full of quiet, restful peace and beauty.

In Japan, as our Minister, he spent twelve years of great usefulness to his country. He opened the way for enlarged commercial relations, and by his simple, straightforward American manner, impressed a respect and regard for our civilization, of which we are now reaping the reward.

Here, in his home, surrounded by family and friends, his last days were spent awaiting the summons that, sooner or later, must come to all.

This monument attests your esteem, your admiration, your love, and your affection for your neighbor, your townsman, your friend and your great Representative in that great crucial time when our national existence and our free popular institutions were put to the sore trial of blood and relentless civil war.

Through the wisdom and the statesmanship, of which he was representative, and also a large part, we were saved from dissolution and made stronger in union than ever before.

The war with Spain demonstrated how well the great work had been done.

From no section came more prompt or more patriotic response than from the South. The ex-soldiers of the Union and the Confederate armies and their sons marched side by side to meet a common enemy and win a common victory; and when our late martyred President, in the midst of his great work, was struck down by the assassin, our institutions sustained the shock without a jar and the Government moved on without a tremor, none mourning his loss to the nation more than the men who had periled their lives for the stars and bars and the cause it represented.

Such tests as these show us the measure of our debt to the men who saved this nation. They were not alone the gallant soldiers and sailors who carried our flag to victory, but also the men who, standing at the helm, guided the ship of State.

THOMAS MORRIS.

BY JAMES B. SWING, CINCINNATI, O.

It is important that the memory of strong, brave men, who have been conspicuous in their day, and influential for good, should be kept green. There is nothing more inspiring than the story of the life of an intellectual and moral hero.

There is a noble, a great name in the history of Ohio that ought to be remembered and honored of all, but that is well-nigh forgotten, a name that perhaps most of our young men never heard, the name of Thomas Morris. I have heard that Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana, is writing a life of this man, and can congratulate him upon the subject he has chosen, and congratulate the public upon the prospect of a valuable addition to the biographical literature of the day. I anticipate a fine tribute to the memory of one who was remarkable for ability, force of character, eloquence, courage, and intense devotion to the cause of the freedom and equal rights of all men.

Morris was born in Berks county, Pennsylvania, January 3, 1776. His parents removed to West Virginia when he was a child. They were very poor, almost as poor as the father and mother of Abraham Lincoln, and he grew up as a poor boy would in the mountains of West Virginia in that early day. He came, with some emigrants, to Hamilton county, Ohio, in 1795, when nineteen years of age, and settled at Columbia, where he became a clerk in a small grocery, and at a smaller salary; and while there he was married to Rachel Davis, a daughter of Benjamin Davis, one of the Columbia pioneers. He had grown to manhood without educational advantages. It does not appear that he ever went to school. His mother had taught him to read after a fashion, and the chief, almost the only book of his childhood reading, was the Bible. He afterward, though never a professedly pious man, made most effective use of his knowledge of the Scriptures in his public speeches, as Tom Corwin did, and as very many of the most distinguished lawyers and statesmen have done. His mother also taught him to hate slavery, a lesson he learned well, as appeared in his after-life. She was a Virginia woman (born

there), the daughter of a small planter, and her father had owned a few slaves, but there was in her an intense hatred of the whole system. It is very interesting, very fine, to see how his mother's teachings were always with him afterward, consciously or unconsciously molding his character and shaping his course in public and private. Ah, the deep, quiet, almost unseen, but powerfully-felt influence of the mothers upon the character of their children, upon men, upon nations, upon human history, upon civilization. Jean Paul Richter says: "Never, never, has one forgotten his pure, right-educating mother. On the blue mountains of our dim childhood, toward which we ever turn and look, stand the mothers who marked out to us from thence our life."

In the year 1800 he removed with his family to Williamsburg, then the county seat of Clermont county, where he remained only a few years. While there his poverty was extreme. He was once arrested and imprisoned for debt under the old, senseless and infamous law that provided for such imprisonment. After being released from the Williamsburg jail he removed to Bethel, about seven miles distant—then a small settlement in the woods. He moved on a cold winter day. (I guess he had to move.) There was snow on the ground, and so small was his stock of this world's goods that goods and family were all moved on a sled at one load. At Bethel he studied law, living in a cabin and studying at night by the light of a piece of burning hickory bark, or of a clapboard. He read as much of general literature as he could command, the best he could borrow in that community, a few good old works scattered here and there—The Pilgrim's Progress and Baxter's Saint's Rest, and the like. So limited was his education that he then read poorly, but he had a mind that took in all the meaning that was stored in the books, and he practiced reading aloud with the utmost care, until he became a most accomplished reader, a thing that can be said of few men even in this day of schools and learning. I have heard my father, who remembered him well, tell of his fine, impressive reading.

After two years of the study of the law he was admitted to the bar of that county, and developed so rapidly that he soon became a leading lawyer there and in Southern Ohio, able to cope with the strongest of the very strong lawyers who then honored

that great profession in this section of the state. Judge Burnet, a great man, and many others like him, who "rode the circuit" in those days, often met him in legal contests and found him a foeman worthy of their steel. Ohio has had few lawyers more powerful before a jury than Thomas Morris. He was not a rude, uncouth lawyer, but became a clear, able, powerful reasoner, truly eloquent; not wordy, but a master of strong English, and earnest and impressive in manner. He was a remarkable cross-examiner, and there are old men living in Clermont county now who well remember the skill and power with which he could draw on and then destroy a lying witness. I have been told by an able lawyer, now departed, how he had seen him shrewdly entrap a perjurer, blandly lead him into a trap, and then suddenly roar at him like a lion and send him perspiring and disgraced from the courtroom.

He represented Clermont county in the Ohio Legislature for twenty-four years, part of the time in the House and part in the Senate. That of itself seems remarkable in this day, when usually one term is deemed too long for a man to serve. That was a day, too, when the ablest men in the state deemed it a high honor to be a member of the Legislature—day long gone by—and Thomas Morris was one of the ablest of them all. He once said that he had heard abler debates in the Ohio Senate than he often heard afterward in the Senate of the United States. His committee reports and speeches, and the measures he supported and opposed in the Legislature, which are in part set forth in a very poor life of him that may still be found on some old book shelves, show that he was one of the giants there. He had as much as any other man to do with the shaping of the early legislation of Ohio in its most important features. He assisted with great vigor in the repeal of the law of imprisonment for debt, under which he had suffered confinement and humiliation in the old jail at Williamsburg.

He was the leading spirit in the Legislature in framing and enacting the laws that created and firmly established our great common-school system. There was, at the time, much opposition to taxation for the general education of the people, and he was once defeated in his candidacy for the State Senate chiefly because of his successful efforts in behalf of such legislation; but, as in

later years in far higher station, he would not swerve from his ideas of duty and the general welfare for any personal or political success.

He was an ardent advocate of the war of 1812, and was the author of a resolution adopted by the Ohio Legislature, pledging to the Federal Government the earnest support of Ohio "in the vigorous prosecution of the present just and necessary war, until a safe and honorable peace can be obtained."

In 1832, when the state of South Carolina declared her right and attempted to nullify the tariff laws of the United States, a time of great excitement throughout the country, a time when the state rights doctrine was loudly proclaimed, and threats of secession were openly made at Washington, and when the states were generally declaring themselves one way or the other, the Ohio Legislature, under the leadership of Morris, stood fast by President Jackson in his wise and patriotic stand for the Union. Justice John McLean, whose memory is still honored as one of the purest and ablest of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, became alarmed at the spirit that so largely prevailed among Southern members of Congress and their constituents, and wrote Morris an earnest but somewhat panicky letter, setting forth what he believed to be the serious danger of a dissolution of the Union unless oil could be poured on the troubled waters, saying: "I had rather see the tariff law suspended in that state for a season than that one drop of blood should be spilt," and urging very mild expression, if any, by the Legislature of Ohio. He concluded his letter with these extraordinary words: "If we shall be urged on by feelings of resentment, and in the exercise of extraordinary powers attempt to crush the state of South Carolina, there will be an end of our government in a short time. I tremble at the gulf which lies before us. Shall this glorious heritage, which is the admiration of the world and our greatest pride, be destroyed? I assure you our government is in danger, and we should all contribute our best efforts to preserve it."

Thus did even so able, wise and patriotic a man as Justice John McLean advise the state of Ohio to temporize, to hesitate, to speak in uncertain tones upon the great question of the very

integrity of the Union itself. But Thomas Morris was no more capable of adopting such a tone than was Andrew Jackson himself. He had himself appointed a special committee by the State Senate, to whom was referred "the ordinance of the South Carolina Convention," and as such special committee he reported to the Senate a series of resolutions as clear and broad in statement, as ardent in patriotism, as profound in their expression of the true theory of the frame of our government, as any declaration ever adopted by any legislative body in the history of the country. I beg leave to read these resolutions touching the greatest political question that ever arose in the United States, as being honorable to the memory of Morris, showing the grasp and calm wisdom of his mind, the patriotism of his spirit, and his extraordinary power of statement:

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that we view with the deepest regret the unhappy movements and apparent determination of the State of South Carolina to nullify the laws of the General Government, made in conformity to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the Federal Union exists in a solid compact, entered into by the voluntary consent of each and every State, and that, therefore, no State can claim the right to secede from or violate that compact; and however grievous may be the supposed or real burdens of the State, the only legitimate remedy is in the wise and faithful exercise of the elective franchise, and the solemn responsibility of the public agents.

Resolved, That the doctrine that a State has the power to nullify a law of the General Government is revolutionary in its character, and is, in its nature, calculated to overthrow the great temple of American liberty; and that such a course cannot absolve that allegiance which the people owe to the supremacy of the laws.

Resolved, That in levying and collecting duties, imposts, and excises, while the general good should be the primary object, a special regard should be had to the end that the interest and prosperity of every section of the country should be equally consulted, and its burdens proportionately distributed.

Resolved, That the first object of the American people should be to cherish the most ardent attachment to the Constitution and Laws of the Union; and, as a first and paramount object of a free people, we should use every laudable means to preserve the Union of these States.

Resolved, That we will support the General Government in all its constitutional measures to maintain peace and harmony between the several States, and preserve the honor and integrity of the Union.

And these resolutions, honorable to this great state, written by Morris, were, under his leadership, adopted by both branches of the Legislature, and from their spirit Ohio never departed.

Morris, while a member of the State Senate, was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, which position for some unexplained reason he declined. In the old book of which I have spoken, mention is made of letters from judges of the Supreme Court and other distinguished lawyers to him, expressing regret at his declination. He was a Democrat, and was once nominated by his party for the United States Senate at a time when the Whigs were in the majority, so that he was not elected, and afterward, in 1832, when he was elected. He took his seat in the United States Senate in December, 1833, and, though modest in bearing, he made a great record there. He opposed the United States Bank in several very weighty speeches, and made a strong impression whenever he spoke on any subject. He joined issue with John C. Calhoun in a debate that involved Calhoun's State Rights—right of secession ideas—and made a very strong reply to him, saying, as reported, that "he professed himself a State-rights man, but had as high devotion to the Union as anyone, and he did not agree with the view of the Senator (Calhoun) that this republic was a confederacy of separate and independent states. He considered the Constitution as "adopted and ratified by the united voice of the people." To him the Constitution was the supreme law of the land or it was nothing. This was in substance what he had previously said in his resolutions in the Ohio Legislature. The speech was a statement—brief, clear, and comprehensive—of the answer to all the subtle arguments designed to show that the Union was "a rope of sand." I venture the opinion that the simple truth was not better stated through all the long discussion on that vexed question.

Morris distinguished himself chiefly in the Senate by his bold opposition to slavery, and won what should be lasting fame by a very great speech near the close of his term, in answer to Henry Clay, upon slavery and the right of petition. On the 7th of February, 1839, Mr. Clay made a brilliant speech on the slavery question, in which he deprecated agitation, appealed with all the persuasiveness of which he was capable, to men and women and

the press to cease all agitation, and opposed the receiving of petitions of Abolitionists while himself presenting the petitions of slave-holders to the Senate. The speech made a profound impression in the Senate and throughout the country. It aroused all the lion in Morris. He waited two days for some other Senator to make reply, but there was no other who dared take up the dangerous controversy with the brilliant Kentuckian.

On February 9th, Morris, standing alone, as he said, with none to help, made reply in a speech of great boldness, remarkable eloquence, and smashing logic. It will stir one's blood and arouse one's admiration to read it, even at this late day. Seldom has there been a greater speech delivered in the United States Senate. The logic of the case, as it had been stated, was all against Clay, and Morris was a master of logic. Clay's speech was really much better meant than it would seem at this distance. It was prompted by patriotic motives. He feared for the Union. The hour had not yet come for a trial of military strength between the North and the South on the State rights question, the slavery question, or any other, and Clay sought to preserve peace and unity. But he did not dare to state his whole mind and motive, and was driven by the exigencies of the case to resort to plausible and specious pleas, to unsound arguments, and to appeals that were not supported by such reason as he dared to urge. Morris could not dissemble. He saw with clear eye all the fallacies of the speech and exposed them, one by one, with unanswerable argument. His speech was in no sense a harangue, there was no attempt "to tear passion to tatters," there was no mere invective, but his strong reasoning glowed with all the fierce light of his fiery, slavery-hating, and liberty-loving spirit. It was a remarkable event, a Democratic Senator in 1839 making an anti-slavery speech of great power in answer to the famous leader of the old Whigs, and lifting high the banner of freedom.

Here are the closing words of the speech:

> I do not know, Mr. President, that my voice will ever again be heard on this floor. I now willingly, yes, gladly, return to my constituents, to the people of my own State. I have spent my life among them, and the greater portion of it in their service, and they have bestowed their confidence on me in numerous instances. I feel perfectly

conscious that in the discharge of every trust which they have committed to me, I have, to the best of my ability, acted solely with a view to the general good, not suffering myself to be influenced by any particular or private interest whatever, and I now challenge any who think I have done otherwise to lay their finger upon any public act of mine and prove to the country its injustice or anti-Republican tendency.

That I have often erred in the selection of means to accomplish important ends, I have no doubt, but my belief in the truth of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, the political creed of President Jefferson, remains unshaken and unsubdued. My greatest regret is that I have not done more for the cause of individual and political liberty than I have done. I hope, on returning to my home and friends, to join them again in rekindling the beacon fires of liberty upon every hill in our State, until their broad glare shall enlighten every valley, and the song of triumph will soon be heard; for the hearts of our people are in the hands of a just and holy Being, who can look upon oppression but with abhorrence, and He can turn them whithersoever He will, as the rivers of water are turned. Though our National sins are many and grievous, yet repentance, like that of Nineveh, may divert from us that impending danger which seems to hang over our heads as by a single hair. That all may be safe, I conclude that the negro will yet be free.

We may search long among the distinguished utterances of public men and find none nobler than these closing farewell words of Thomas Morris in the United States Senate—brave, honest, eloquent, prophetic.

Morris knew well the consequences that would come to him. He knew that his speech meant the ruin of all his political prospects. The Democrats of Ohio, and the Whigs as well, were for the most part embittered against him. An effort was made to have the Legislature demand his resignation. This only failed because his time had so nearly expired. He was bitterly assailed in the next State Convention. He was hissed. There were cries of "Throw him out!" He was not permitted to speak. They would not hear him. Benjamin Tappan was elected to succeed him in the Senate. Morris narrowly escaped a mob at Dayton, where he was advertised to speak in the courthouse one evening. Though he feared nothing, he was persuaded not to attempt to speak, because the mob was organized and violent. Eggs were thrown at him on the streets of Dayton that day. He was assailed by mobs elsewhere, notably and viciously at Cleves, in

Hamilton county. But none of these things moved him. He only rejoiced in such tribulation. He became a hero in the eyes of the Abolitionists. Their papers were full of his praise. He was invited to address their meetings in many cities. He was nominated by the Liberty party for Vice President in 1843, and while he lived did not cease to avow and advocate his abolition sentiments, not as a fanatic, but as a calm, earnest, wise, and patriotic statesman—a statesman who rightly estimated existing conditions and looked far into the future.

"In the fullness of time" his prediction, that to the end "*that all might be safe, the negro would yet be free,*" was fulfilled amid clash of arms, rattle of musketry, roar of cannon, "banners heavy with the blood of the slain." It was fulfilled, and North and South are glad of it. They are united now. The Union is safe.

Morris died at his home, near Bethel, December 7, 1844, aged sixty-eight years—nearly sixty-nine. His grave, marked by a very humble slab, may be seen in the shade of some old trees by the roadside; but there are few who pass that way who know it is there. Written on the slab are these fine, true words: "Unawed by power and uninfluenced by flattery, he was throughout life the fearless advocate of human liberty."

I have stated only a little of what he did, but enough to indicate what he was. His life ought to be an inspiration to every young man who is struggling with adversity, and a proof to every one who doubts that there is a glory in devotion to principle, under all circumstances, regardless of personal consequences, that surpasses any glory of riches or power.

LAKE COUNTY AND ITS FOUNDER.

By William Stowell Mills, ll. b., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS DELIVERED IN PAINESVILLE, LAKE COUNTY, O., JULY 21, 1901, AT THE CEREMONIES OF THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF EDWARD PAINE.

Mr. President, Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution:

Ladies and Gentlemen: — It is related that when the residents of a New England town proposed to pay homage to a former townsman in a ceremony similar to this, a good old lady of the village remarked that she couldn't understand why a monument should be erected to the *memory* of Deacon Tuttle; when, of all the men of her acquaintance, Deacon Tuttle had the poorest memory.

Although our object in assembling here is of broader significance than that implied by the observation of the good woman, the attractive Centennial prepared especially for this occasion has anticipated well-nigh all there is to be said. What with the contents of that Journal and the able addresses to which we have listened with delighted interest, there is little left for me to say beyond giving expression to the pleasure I take in the opportunity of meeting friends in my native state.

However this may be, we may venture at this time to supply a few new phrases for familiar facts.

The children of the twentieth century are to be congratulated before they are born. Theirs is a rich and splendid heritage. During the past twenty years, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution have instituted historical inquiry which has created enthusiasm for a knowledge of bygone generations. There has never been so much painstaking and earnest work in bringing to light the treasures left us by the patriotism of our forefathers. The other hereditary societies, of which there are a score or more, are lending a hand. History is in the air, and coming generations will enter into possession of an abundant harvest as a result. The enterprise of to-day, as manifested in

MONUMENT TO GEN. PAINE.

the spirit of the times (wrongly named "imperialism" by its opponents), is making clearer the patriotic duty of to-morrow.

To the zeal of the New Connecticut Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, seconded by the Sons of the American Revolution, we are indebted for the inspiration of this day, and are met to pay tribute to a king among men.

To comprehend his kingship, it will be necessary to take a view of Lake county in the first days of settlement on the Western Reserve; for it was with our county in its infancy that our hero had most to do.

Perhaps the earliest event that history records with certainty as transpiring within the limits of what is now Lake county was the interview between the Indian chief, Pontiac, and Major Robert Rogers and his "rangers" in November, 1760, at the mouth of the Grand River, within three miles of where we now stand. In those days the lands of Lake county, and, in fact, of the entire country of the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley, were claimed, and their ownership sharply contested, by the dusky sons of the forest, the imprint of whose moccasins had been planted over and over again on every square rod of our farms.

A hundred and forty years ago, Pontiac, who, for power of command over his followers, was unquestionably the greatest of his race, beheld here a scene of inspiring grandeur. In the stately trees of a primeval forest, he recognized a dignity that completely harmonized with his unyielding nature. The beauty of their graceful forms mirrored in the limpid waters; the majesty of the unbridled storm, sweeping over lake and forest; the experiences in this untamed wilderness, that strike terror to the heart of the civilized man; these inspired in him that sense of uncontrolled freedom with which he led his warriors through the trackless wood.

When first mentioned in history, therefore; three generations before it was christened, Lake county possessed charms of landscape indescribable. Words are feeble as a means of picturing the sublimity of that long, deep sleep of nature waiting

the advent of a superior race which is fast fulfilling its destiny to cover the face of the earth.

Inseparably connected with Lake county in its earliest days was the name of Edward Paine. It goes without saying that two important considerations enter into every true estimate of a career: the time when, and the place where the life was lived. No just estimate of a man is possible that does not take account of the political, social and religious conditions prevailing at the time he lived. In a broad, but peculiarly true sense, the study of the life of an individual is an exercise in analysis and comparison. It is one of the plainest of truths that greatness of character lies in the power to improve conditions; to use one's surroundings as a lever with which to lift the world; and an individual is great just in the proportion of his capability to do these things.

Although the hour is short, I call you to note the three leading traits in the character of the man who was the founder of what became Lake county. These qualities were conspicuous in him, and were, indeed, indispensable to one having before him the work which confronted Edward Paine. Note his patriotism, his courageous spirit, and his wise eye to the future. These primary traits of character, in whomever found, are the fundamental principles of the three functions of government. Through love of country and the consequent desire for its welfare all laws designed for public good are made. Wisdom and prudence determine the justice and expediency of legislation, and the execution of the law depends upon courage of conviction.

Edward Paine's conduct proved his qualities. One hundred years ago the Fourth of July (the day set for this celebration in his honor) our hero was at Warren, participating in the first formal celebration of Independence Day on the Western Reserve of Connecticut. That was six days before the signing of the bill by which the Reserve was made Trumbull county; and just at the close of a period of nearly four years, during which the settlers in "New Connecticut" had been without laws of any kind to govern them; when they had been left to the dictates of that innate sense of right and duty as a guide; but, for men of their stamp this had been sufficient, and the harmony that prevailed

during this period was a magnificent testimonial of the character of the settlers on the Reserve, prior to 1800.

What was the attraction that could induce Edward Paine to take the journey, on this sultry Fourth of July, of more than fifty miles by the slow and tedious mode of travel of a century ago? The attraction was not at Warren; it was in Edward Paine, who had, as a lieutenant in the War of the Revolution, twenty-five years before, fought to enforce the Declaration of Independence. What part he had in the celebration at Warren is not definitely recorded; but we may well believe it was a prominent one. The sentiments of that declaration were echoed in the hearts of those other heroes who had suffered privations in this new land, and to whom Paine may have read the document itself.

Our country had but recently entered upon an era of real independence. It could look to no foreign power for aid. The death of Washington only six months before this time had deprived the leaders in government of the counsel of the greatest general and statesman of his time, in America, if not in the world.

General Paine's faith in his country's progress and destiny made him one of the first to choose the Western Reserve as his future home. He was one of the first half dozen to venture upon this new soil in 1796, with a view to selecting a spot for settlement. His ambition had led him beyond the borders of Connecticut, his native state; and later had towered above the opportunities afforded by New York state, his adopted home; and when New Connecticut opened a door for men of his expansive vision, he was one of the first to enter it.

The course pursued by this man at this time presents a profitable study. Who are we, who cling to the old home, preferring its soft ease and enervating tendencies to the larger opportunities in the great West, to which so many open doors invite us? Who are we who shrink from the comparatively few privations of frontier life, on the plea of age, even before we have compassed a third of the years allotted to man; and in this stage of the world's progress, when inventions contribute everywhere to the comforts of life; when companionship itself is transported on the wings of the telegraph and the railway, and civilization insures safety wherever our flag greets the eye?

Behold this hero of a century ago, coming to this wild region when past middle life! The snows of fifty-five winters had left their traces upon his brow when he came here to lay the foundations of Lake county.

It is entirely fitting that this perpetual reminder of Edward Paine should be placed here at the county seat; for it was not a village merely, that he founded, nor even a township of the size with which we are familiar; but, in truth, a county, and the interest in this statue of the most active man here, the moving spirit of a hundred years ago, is shared by every resident of Lake county. Here, again, deeds indicate character. One hundred years ago the tenth of July, Governor St. Clair signed the bill to organize the county of Trumbull, comprising the entire Reserve. In the new county, eight townships were formed, one of which was Painesville, consisting of ten townships as they now exist. They included three now in Geauga county and all of Lake county excepting Madison. Edward Paine had been here scarcely three months when his name was thus perpetuated. As new counties were formed from the original Trumbull, beginning with Geauga county in 1805, the regularly surveyed townships took names, and the name, Painesville, was restricted to the present township, and later given to the county seat.

The ability and worth of Edward Paine was early recognized. At the first session of the territorial legislature of Ohio, after the organization of Trumbull county, Edward Paine was the representative from the Reserve. No man of inferior quality could occupy a position so honorable.

Lake county, when young, became a power in the land, and this partly because of the power inherent in its lands. There is a fine logic of events, the study of which reveals a natural course, and the circumstances leading to the settlement of Lake county are plainly to be seen.

No sooner had the survey been made of the Reserve lands east of the Cuyahoga River, than the townships of our county began to develop a history, and with that history Edward Paine was perfectly familiar. We are under deep obligations to his exercise of forethought at this time. The quality of the lands of Lake county was brought to notice by the process of equalizing

the land values of the Reserve. In 1796 the surveyors appraised the townships, and then it was that *Lake county, to be,* assumed its place in the scale of values. Seven of its townships (all but Leroy), 90 per cent of its area, were found to possess soil value above the average. This cannot be said of any other county of the Reserve. The significance of this comparison did not escape the attention of Edward Paine, who, in the spring of 1800, declined battle with fever, ague and starvation at the feeble settlement of seven souls at Cleveland and preferred to begin a settlement on the rich lands of the Grand River, that is, in the center of the richest section of the Reserve as its lands were then valued; and to-day, the beauty, enterprise and prosperity of Lake, the smallest county of Ohio, are abundant proof that Edward Paine's choice was a wise one.

Here he lived to see the greater part of the township originally called Painesville organized into Lake county in 1840.

He walked these highways for more than forty years. It is now two generations since he passed from mortal view. To the cynic and the pessimist this is delay of tribute, but to the student of mankind, it is manifest how strong was the life of the man who, sixty years after his death, more than a hundred years after he had passed the middle age, could so hold the hearts of his townsmen, but few of whom are now left to remember him personally.

Ought we not to say *townswomen?* for to them is due the credit of suggesting this homage to a modest, noble soldier and citizen. This is not delay; it is evidence of the influence of a life. It is not tardy recognition; it is proof that human souls make impressions which time cannot efface.

The courage that won from the oppressor the soil of America for citizens of America; that wrested the land of our homes from the vagrant savage, who, with selfish content, robbed uncultivated nature and contributed nothing to the help of his race; that faced wild beast and slow starvation in the primitive forests, was the kind of fortitude which characterized the pioneers of a hundred years ago.

We can ill afford to forget their trials and their triumphs, for upon their patriotism, their courage, and their forethought

depend all our possibilities. The historian will not forget that the youth of to-day can learn no lessons more potent than those which remind them of their obligation to the men and women who opened our pathway. No history, either local or general, is worthy the name that forgets this. No history, either of Painesville, or of Lake county, can be complete that does not recount the achievements of Edward Paine and his contemporaries.

But history is the record of yesterday. A century is but a day. Sweeping beyond the vistas of historic time, the imagination may picture our lovely land, covered by that "mother of continents," the surging sea; may behold a bank of snow of slow dissolving crystal, depositing the soil upon which we depend for life itself; may follow the receding shore of our Erie "millpond" as it washed the sands into fertile beds for the forests that grew to old age and died away to be replaced by others in countless repetitions. We love this venerable land, and we bow in awe before the Being whose hand hath shaped its beauteous form. Endless gratitude would we, therefore, pay to the pioneers who were instrumental in leading us hither, conspicuous among whom was Edward Paine.

Old Erie, thy billows have crumbled the shore,
And scattered its frail shifting sands;
For ages thy life-freighted gales have blown o'er
This dearest, this loveliest of lands.

Though fierce be the wrath of thy turbulent breast,
When storms ride thy foam-crested wave.
We love thy rude tempests; we love thy calm rest.
Thy sweet benediction we crave.

Our hero, behold thou, this blest Eden land,
The fruit of thy tenderest love,
The years since thy shallop first touched our wild strand
Are crowned with rich gifts from above.

Gaze thou on Old Erie, by time's restless tide
Borne on until lost in the sea,
Not thus were thy memory; that shall abide
In this land of the brave and the free.

GENERAL EDWARD PAINE.

General Edward Paine, from whom Painesville takes her name, was born in Bolton, Tolland county, Connecticut, in the year 1746.

General Paine took an active part in the exciting times which preceded the war of the Revolution and was a Whig of the most pronounced type.

When the war broke out he entered the service of the United States as an ensign in a regiment of Connecticut militia. He served in this capacity seven months, at the end of which time the whole company was discharged.

He again entered the service in June, 1776, as first lieutenant in Captain Brig's company, was ordered to New York, and was in the army at the time of the retreat to White Plains.

At the expiration of his term of service, he was discharged in December, 1776. In 1777, he was commissioned lieutenant of the Fifth company of the Alarm List in the 19th regiment of Connecticut militia, and later, in 1777, was made captain of the same company and served as such until the close of the war.

Such was his revolutionary record.

In early manhood he moved from Bolton to New York state, locating on a point on the Susquehanna river, whence he moved to Aurora.

While living in Aurora, he served for several sessions as representative in the State Legislature, and was made brigadier-general of the militia. In the fall of 1796, he conceived the project of making an excursion into Ohio for the purpose of trading with the Indians. With this in view, he and his oldest son, Edward Paine, Jr., started on a perilous journey. They reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga, now the site of Cleveland, and selected a place at which to establish themselves.

At that time there were but two white people living there, Job Stiles and wife. General Paine remained there only long enough to arrange matters so that his son might carry out the plan of the journey, when he started on foot and alone to return to his home in New York. His son remained at the mouth of the Cuyahoga during the winter of that year and the following spring

returned to the home in Aurora, and in 1798, went to Connecticut and purchased, in Tract No. 3, one thousand acres of land, in what afterwards, in honor of its first settler, was called Painesville. In the summer, after the purchase had been made, General Paine prepared for the removal of his family to the site which he had selected. He used his influence to induce a number of friends to go with him as settlers. Among this party were Eleazer Paine, Jedediah Beard, and Joel Paine, who were the heads of families — the whole company numbering 66.

The start was made from Aurora, with sleighs, on the fifth day of March, 1800, but it was the first of May before the families were able to reach here. After they arrived on Grand River, General Paine and his little colony lost no time in getting to work. He erected his first log cabin about one mile south of Lake Erie and two miles north of Painesville, and later, on the same site, built a more pretentious home, nothing of which now remains but a few foundation stones opposite the present Shorelands. The colonists found on their arrival that the Indians had made some improvements, so the party, at the earliest seed time, planted these cleared grounds and in due time reaped an abundant harvest.

As has been stated, Painesville took its name from General Paine; but his activity and his usefulness did not close with the founding of this village. Twice he was elected to the Territorial Legislature of Ohio, and as long as he lived was one of the enterprising and influential men of the northeastern part of the state. He lived in this, his new home, for a period of forty years.

At the advanced age of ninety-five years and eleven months, on the 28th of August, 1841, he closed his life on the banks of Grand River, revered, respected, and esteemed, not only by his immediate friends and acquaintances, but by that large circle of active and influential men of his day, who laid the foundation of what is now the great and leading state of Ohio.

General Paine possessed in an eminent degree the traits and characteristics which distinguished that large body of pioneers who led the tide of immigration into the wilderness. These men were of a class by themselves, and stand preëminent among the pioneers of all preceding and succeeding times for the special qualities of hardihood and adventure, united with intellectual

powers and capacities of the highest order. They not only introduced the plow-share into the virgin soil of the wilderness, but they brought with them the Bible and the spelling book, the artisan, the circuit preacher, and the school master, as co-ordinate parts of their enterprise. A common man with the ordinary muscular ability, courage, and inherent traits of his race, without possessing intellectual attainments, cannot be the pioneer of intellectual and refined social life. Edward Paine was not merely a pioneer of a pioneer band; but he was a leader of civilizing and refining influences among his own associates, and hence these first settlers that came into the town of Painesville brought with them the seed of that intellectual development which has made its public schools, its colleges, and its seminaries famous throughout the land.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER IN THE VALLEY OF THE LITTLE MIAMI.

BY WILLIAM ALBERT GALLOWAY, M. D., VICE PRESIDENT OHIO SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

In considering The Revolutionary Soldier in the Valley of the Little Miami, I am impressed with the significance of the territorial enactments which particularly designated his settlement in this beautiful and fertile location.

The territory granted by King James I. to the company which founded the colony of Virginia was very extended. The first charter embraced 100 miles of coast line, between the 37° and 49° north latitude, with all the islands opposite, and within 100 miles of it, and extending 100 miles from the coast to the interior, two subsequent grants elevated this cession to the dignity of a territorial empire. The second grant extended along the coast line 200 miles north and 200 miles south of Old Point Comfort, a breadth of 400 miles, which was maintained across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, and embracing all lands to the northwest of the Ohio River. To this immense territory a third grant added all islands in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans within 300 leagues of these coast lines. In the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France in 1763 the Mississippi River became the western boundary of Virginia. A few days before the Declaration of Independence, Virginia ceded to Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina and Maryland her rights to the territory now occupied by these states.

In 1783, by act of her legislature, Virginia ceded all the commonwealth's rights to the territory northwest of the Ohio River, except so much of this land as was located between the headwaters and courses of the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers. This land was specifically reserved for the legal bounties and rewards of General George Rogers Clark, his officers and soldiers. The commonwealth of Virginia, ever careful for the compensation of her Revolutionary defenders, in this act defined, that this cession should be "good lands to be laid off between the Rivers Scioto and Little Miami." Years afterwards, when the riches and fer-

tility of this survey became known, the Supreme Court of the United States interpreted that paragraph to include every acre between these rivers, from their mouths to their sources.

We can at this distance of time more fully realize that this garden spot in Ohio is indeed "good lands" and given to soldiers whose "good valor" deserved and received the best reward in the gift of the commonwealth of Virginia.

The valley of the Little Miami, near its headwaters, was first seen by a considerable body of Revolutionary soldiers in 1780. In this year and in 1782 and 1784 punative expeditions were organized in Kentucky and sent out against Old Chillicothe, the head village of the Shawnee Indians in the Little Miami Valley. Two of these expeditions were led by General George Rogers Clark, the other by Colonel Bowman. All three expeditions approached Old Chillicothe from the south, by routes which passed near the present site of Xenia. Imagine with me for a moment the landscape which greeted the vision of these soldiers as they came to the last of the gently rolling hills which margin the south of this beautiful valley. Who can blame them if they desired to possess this place for their own homes. Before them lay a valley which nature had fashioned and enriched when in one of her most partial moods. Bordered on each side by gently rising hills, covered by splendid forest trees of every indigenous hardwood, its fertile acres rich in growing corn lay to the south as far as the eye could see; with sinuous beauty the waters of the river, now in sight, and again winding about the foothills, followed the course of the valley, until both were lost to vision in the distance. Halfway across the valley, closely surrounded by a strong wall of pickets, stood the barrier to their possession—Old Chillicothe. This was the home of Tecumseh, the greatest western warrior chief, a statesman, orator, and later a brigadier general in the English army. Only one of these expeditions was successful,, and in the three, many brave men lost their lives, but it is not surprising that those who returned to Kentucky, at their firesides and their social gatherings, talked of the time when they could return and possess themselves of a home in this portion of the Virginia Military Survey, to which their Revolutionary services entitled them.

Many of them did return, for to-day we know of forty-five of these heroes of the American Revolution who are peacefully at rest beneath the warm and generous soil of Greene county. In 1795 the power of the Shawnee Indians was broken, and in 1797 the first settler located near the site of Old Chillicothe, now Old Town, three and a half miles north of Xenia. He came from Lexington, Kentucky, and brought with him his entire family and a generous pioneer equipment. He was the writer's great-grandfather, James Galloway. Fortunately I am able to give, in his own words, the location of Old Chillicothe. Among the court records of Greene county is a well-preserved record of a trial to quiet title to certain lands in the Miami Valley. This court was held on June 5, 1818, before Josiah Glover, master commissioner of the Superior Court of Greene county, at the residence of Abner Reid, Oldtown, Ohio, three miles north of Xenia. At this trial James Galloway deposed that he was a member of the expeditions which came out from Kentucky against the Shawnee Indians in 1780 and 1782, and in answer to the commissioner's question as to the exact location of Old Chillicothe, he says: "I am now sitting within the enclosure made by the pickets." The house, a two-story brick, in which this court was held, is still standing near the south end of the village of Oldtown, 36 rods southwest of the Xenia and Yellow Springs pike. This evidence was corroborated by other witnesses at the trial who had been members of Clark's and Bowman's expeditions. With this certain location of the picket enclosure within which the council house of the Shawnees was located, I am able to establish the course of an additional and very interesting historical event.

In 1834, Simon Kenton, while visiting his cousin, Orin North, at Oldtown, gave the course of his famous "Run of the Gantlet" as beginning halfway up the Sexton hill and ending at the Council House door, across which he fell exhausted but safe. Imagine for a moment a half-mile run between two rows of hostile Indians, armed with clubs, tomahawks and hickories, each one determined to get in a blow on Kenton's bare body as he ran through the gantlet at the height of his speed. Only a powerful and hardy man like Kenton could possibly survive, and he do-

clared in 1834 it was the severest trial of his life. This course measures 155 rods, almost a half mile, and lies south from the location of the Council House.

"All the world loves a lover." It is the common touch of a master which "makes the whole world akin." Romance and conquest have often met on common ground in history; sometimes one has softened the sting of the other. Old Chillicothe had its conquest, and in due time its romance, also, but unlike the usual romance, its effects were far-reaching both in the subsequent saving of many American lives and in the possible loss to the United States of all the territory which now lies north of the Canadian line. Among a number of pleasing and opportune communications from Colonel Moulton Houk during the presidency of the Ohio Sons of the American Revolution was a valuable and suggestive little brochure entitled "A Bit of History." In it he makes reference to the oratory and humanity of Tecumseh, the most distinguished man the Little Miami Valley has ever produced. The birthplace of this warrior chief, according to his own statements to the writer's great-grandfather, was about one mile northeast from Old Chillicothe, at a big spring which is now a source of water supply to the Xenia Water Works.* Rev. Benjamin Kelly, a white child prisoner, who was adopted by the parents of Tecumseh and consequently was his foster-brother, and who subsequently became a Baptist minister, also gave this location as the birthplace of Tecumseh. I am aware that history gives the honor of the birthplace of this distinguished Indian to Piqua, but this honor can be spared on evidence to Old Chillicothe by the Great Miami Valley, for she possesses New Carlisle, the birthplace and childhood of the most daring and distinguished twentieth century soldier and of Revolutionary ancestry—General Frederic Funston. In the family of James Galloway, who removed from Kentucky in 1797 and settled near Old Chillicothe, was an only daughter—the writer's grandmother. She was known then as a girl of remarkable mind and personality, both of which she retained in later life. This pioneer

* The birth place of Tecumseh is in great dispute. Drake, the historian of Tecumseh, claims it was a few miles below Springfield and within the present limits of Clark county.—E. O. R., Editor.

was himself a man of splendid mind and character and reflected his personality not only on his children and associates, but also very broadly on the early history of Greene county. It is not surprising, then, that Tecumseh, who frequently returned to his birthplace, should have formed a fast friendship with James Galloway and have been his guest at all times when in this vicinity. As the daughter, Rebecca, grew to young womanhood this chief fell under the charm of her personality and the power of her mind and in that valley, amid all the beauty of forest and stream that nature can lavish on one landscape, he learned that "'Tis better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all." In Colonel Houk's little brochure he quotes from Tecumseh's eloquent speech before General Harrison, and records the fact that although he arrived late at the battle of Fort Meigs on May 4, 1812, he stopped the massacre of Kentucky prisoners, who had been captured and turned over to the Indians for slaughter, and he upbraided General Proctor for permitting it. The use of excellent English, which distinguished Tecumseh's eloquent war and peace orations, reflected the careful teaching of Rebecca Galloway. She read much to him from the few books in her father's possession, corrected his idioms of speech and helped him enlarge his vocabulary in English. She read to him from the Bible and taught him the white man's belief in religion and future destiny, but the most signal service this girl performed to humanity was to instill in Tecumseh, with every power of her artful character, the fact that the massacre of prisoners after surrender, and helpless women and children after capture, was against every law and sentiment of humanity. History records that he accepted and maintained this high ground in the years which preceded his death at the battle of the River Thames. I leave the reader to infer how much love may have done in this case for humanity. In speculating on the results of the disasters to the American forces in 1812 after Tecumseh and his forces had joined the English, I have been impressed with the thought that love, ever powerful in the affairs of men, may in this case have helped to set the Canadian boundary as far south as it is to-day. Had this chieftain's love for the paleface girl been successful he would never have gained the

star of a brigadier general in the British army; he would not have led 2,000 warriors against Fort Meigs, and in the absence of his leadership and powerful personality in the events of 1812-13 it would not have been possible for a Canadian historian to record that: "No one can fully calculate the inestimable value of those devoted redmen, led on by brave Tecumseh, during the struggle of 1812, but for them it is probable we should not now have a Canada."

The Virginia Military Survey was a post-bellum contribution to the war spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race. We are fond of calling ourselves a race of peace, and our peace is indeed profound in its progress and material advancements, but our milestones in history are marked by war. It is after its wars that the Anglo-Saxon race presses forward with irresistible force to occupy new territory and extend free institutions. The Revolutionary soldier in the Little Miami Valley was one movement only in the evolution of the race's history. There he tarried, but only for a day. With the war of 1860 his descendants and successors overflowed into Kansas and the great West, carrying with them the characteristic liberty and progressive spirit which was their historical heritage. The War of 1898 is drawing to a close and history stands waiting to repeat itself. "Westward the star of Empire has ever taken its course" for this irresistible race. It is our manifest destiny, *we cannot escape.* It is our hereditary command since the days of Sargon; *we cannot disobey.* We have expanded so long *we cannot stop.* We have advanced the flag so often, we do not now know how to pull it down. Mountains and oceans, deserts and plains are no obstacle to this advance; it is the hand of the master from which there is no escape. The Valley of the Little Miami, beautiful, fertile, inviting, offered scarcely a momentary rest to an advance which seems never to grow weary.

Let us not forget that we of the present generation are the beneficiaries of all this patriotic past and the trustees of its glorious and unfolding future, and may we ever execute this trusteeship like true sons of honorable Revolutionary sires.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

AS TOLD BY AN EYE-WITNESS — FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

BY FRAZER E. WILSON, GREENVILLE, O.

It is refreshing to read an original account of any important battle, especially when the field of action is near at hand. Of the 600 survivors of St. Clair's unfortunate army probably quite a number wrote narratives which have been lost or destroyed in the wreck of time. The General's own report and the description of Benjamin Van Cleve have been published a number of times and we take pleasure in printing another from the pen of a Mr. Thos. Irwin, deceased, of Butler County, Ohio, who was a wagoner in the army. Mr. Irwin has a number of descendants in Darke county; among whom are David P. Irwin and Mr. William Swartz, of Greenville. The manuscript is in the possession of the latter gentleman, who kindly loaned it to the writer for copy and publication. It reads as follows:

"The following is an account from the memory of the movements of General Arthur St. Clair's army from Fort Hamilton to where said army was defeated on the 4th of November, in the year 1791:

"The army marched from Fort Hamilton about the last of September or first of October, on a straight line by the compass, to where Fort Jefferson was built; encamped and lay there over two weeks, until the fort was built and finished. Left there in October, marched to Greenville creek, encamped and lay there one week. Marched from there on the 1st of November and was attacked and defeated on the morning of the 4th by the Indians. It was the opinion of the general and his officers that the Indians would not attack an army where there was so many canon with them. There were three six pounders and three smaller ones. On the day before the battle, about four miles on this side, there was a general halt. Something got wrong. The weather was cold. During our stay us wagoners in front kindled up a large fire. The general and a number of the officers collected round it to warm themselves. They chatted on several subjects. One was whereabouts we were. The general opinion was that we had passed over the dividing ridge between the waters of the Miamis and St. Mary's—was then on the waters of St. Mary's. Colonel Serjant had been in front, came up while they were chatting, informed them that the advance guard had chased four or five Indians from a fire out of a thicket and got part

of a venison at the fire. The chat turned upon the movements of the Indians, as they had been more seen that day than on any day previous. The gen'l observed that he did not think the Indians was watching the movements of the army with a view to attack them. The officers present concured with him in that opinion. We marched from there about 2 mile, halted to encamp. An express came up from the front gard, stated that they had got to a fine, running stream and good place to encamp at. We started and got there about sunset. I expect it was near eight o'clock before the troops got fixed for lodging and cooking their scanty mess of provision. There was several guns shot that night by the sentries. Our orders was to have our horses up early on the 4th. We had to pass through the sentries. They informed us that the Indian had been round part of the camp nearly all night. We got part of the horses and part was stole by the Indians. The Kentucky malitia, perhaps three hundred, was encamped 40 rod in advance on the opposite side of the creek. The army was encamped in a hollow square on this side of creek. The three six-pounders on the left on the bank of said creek. The two lines was about 50 or 60 yards apart so as the rear could come to the creek for water. A small ravine put into the creek a short distance on the left from where the six-pounders was. About sunrise on the 4th one gun was discharged some distance in front of the Kentucky militia. In two minutes after there was upwards of 50 discharged, a yell raised and charges made on the militia. They retreated into the main camp, the indians in pursuit. When the Indians came within perhaps 60 yards of said creek they wheeled to the right and left with a view to surround the army which they done in a very short time. After they got round I think within one hour and a half they had killed and wounded every officer and soldier belonging to the artilery. After the artilery was silenced I think the battle continued another hour and half. During that time there was several charges made but I think neither of them advanced more than 40 steps until they returned. A retreat was ordered to be beat which was done by a drummer but not understood. George Adams, who afterwards lived and died in Darke county and was on that campaign I think as a spie. St. Clair placed great confidence in him for former services. He was with the gen'l. A short time before the army retreated he came to that part of the line, near where the trace was, give three sharp yells and said—"Boys let us make for the trace."—He took the lead, a charge was made. I was within five or six feet of him. The Indians give way a few guns was shot from both sides. When we had got perhaps about thirty rood Adams ordered them to halt and form a line. They were then on the trace and could not be stopped. The race continued perhaps 4 or 5 mile when they slackened their pace and arrived at Fort Jefferson a short time after sunset. The first regiment was there—had been sent after deserters and to gard provisions. I expect on the day of the battle there

was no provision on the way within 50 miles and then not much. The wagoners had no guns while we lay at Jefferson and Greenville. I borrowed a rifle to hunt with, could get none; time of battle got a musket, bayonet, cartouch box with about 20 cartridges. Throwed the box away and carried the cartridges in a large side pocket. The troops on that campaign ought to have been trilled 8 or 10 months and learned them how to handle a gun. I think a number never had handled a gun or shot one. There was two excellent companies of artilary men commanded by Capt'ns Bradford and Ford. If they would have had a good breastwork to shelter thmselves all the Indians that was there could not have fazed them. That battle always reminded me of on of those thunder storms that comes up quick and rapidly. The following is the names of part of the officers that I had a knowledge of that was killed in that battle on the 4th of November, 1791: General Butler, 1—Col. Gibson, 2—Major Furguson of artilery, 3—Cap. Hart, 4—Cap't'n Kirkwood, 5—Cap't'n Smith, 6—Cap't'n Darke, 7— Cap't'n Sarwinger, 8—Lieut Spear, 9—Lieut Lukens, 10—Ensign McMichel, 11—Cap't'n Bradford of Artilery, 12—Provisions was excedingly scarce. Nearly all the time we lay at Greenville creek and on until the army was defeated the army was on half rations and the beef part was not very good. Six spies was sent from Greenville creek 2 days before the army marched from there—went about a northeast course—heard nothing of the battle on the 4th—met with an Indian who informed them the army was defeated. They returned to Jefferson. There was four of the spies Chockta Indians—they killed the one they met. Capt'n Ganoe who was afterwards gen'l in Hamilton County was the surveyor.

THOMAS IRWIN, of B. C. Ohio.

There was six wagoners with the artillery and one cook. Two wagoners and the cook was killed. Cap't'n Ford with the small pieces always encampted on rear line right in rear of the large ones. The officers on that campaign was as good as any that ever carried a gun. T. I.

(Spelling and grammatical construction according to MSS.— Punctuation altered to facilitate reading.)

This account corresponds in its main points with that of Gen. St. Clair, but being written from memory several years after the battle, it is inaccurate in a few minor points of time, etc., and, on account of brevity, necessarily gives but an incomplete and imperfect picture of the affair. It remains, however, an extremely valuable witness to the truth as given in the generally accepted accounts and should be carefully and reverently preserved for future reference.

MOUND BUILDERS' FORT WITHIN TOLEDO'S LIMITS.

BY S. S. KNABENSHUE, TOLEDO, OHIO.

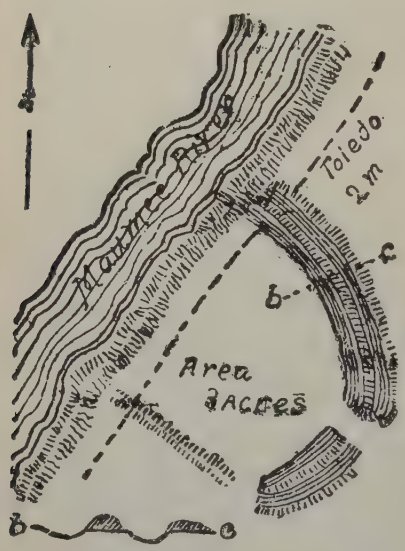
It will probably surprise most of the readers of the Quarterly to be told that there once existed an ancient defensive earthwork on the banks of the Maumee, within the present city limits. The writer was unaware of the fact until some time ago, when he found a reference to it in a somewhat rare book—the first volume of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, printed in 1848. It is a copy of "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," by Squier and Davis. In the chapter devoted to works of defence, is a section on such ancient forts in Northern Ohio, written by Hon Charles Whittlesey, of Cleveland, whose archæological researches were both extensive and accurate. The following is Mr. Whittlesey's account of the Toledo work:

"This work is situated on the right bank of the Maumee river, two miles above Toledo, in Wood county, Ohio." (It is now in Lucas county, and within the city limits. The writer does not know whether Mr. Whittlesey was in error in placing the work in Wood county, or whether the county line has been changed since his account was written.) The water of the river is here deep and still, and of the lake level; the bluff is about 35 feet high. Since the work was built, the current has undermined a portion, and parts of the embankments are to be seen on the slips a, a. The country for miles in all directions is flat and wet, though heavily timbered, as is the space in and around this enclosure. The walls, measuring from the bottoms of the ditches, are from three to four feet high. They are not of uniform dimensions throughout their extent; and as there is no ditch on the southwest side, while there is a double wall and ditch elsewhere, it is presumable that the work was abandoned before it was finished."

The site of this ancient work is on the East Side, a little above the end of Fassett street bridge, and directly back of the C., H. & D. elevator. The greater part is an unfenced common,

directly north of the present residence of Mrs. Charles A. Crane, to whom the site belongs. There is not a vestige of the old embankment remaining. After the ground was cleared of trees, it was cultivated, and the plow soon reduced the works to an uniform level.

The only reminder of the work is the name of Fort street—a short thoroughfare running east from the Ohio Central tracks to Crescent street. If extended through westward to the river, it would cut the center of the site. When it was laid out, the work was still in existence, and the name given in consequence.



Mr. Elias Fassett, who lives in the next house south of the Crane residence, has a vivid remembrance of the old mound builders' fort as it appeared more than a half century ago. He says the northern end reached the river only a few yards south of the end of Fassett street bridge, and the embankment on the southwestern side, where there was no ditch, crossed the present street just at the corner of the Crane front fence. When the Fassett family settled where he now lives, the site of the fort was covered with huge sugar maple trees. This grove of maples extended some distance north of the three acres covered by the works, and embraced about 200 trees. These were the only sugar trees in that vicinity. This would point to the site having been cleared of the primitive forest by the people who built the fort; for it is a well known fact that where an area is denuded of its original forest growth, and afterward allowed to reforest itself, the new growth is always of a different species. It would appear that the soil becomes exhausted of the materials for that

particular kind of tree, and others spring up for which it contains appropriate nourishment.

Directly where the river road now runs, in front of the Fasset residence—or Miami street, to give it the official name—there was originally an elevation, probably an artificial mound, of the same date as the fort. A small oak tree, on the edge of the bluff, marks its position. This mound was of nearly pure sand, and it was used to level up the lot. In digging it down a half dozen human skeletons were unearthed, all in perfect preservation, but all buried face downward—a most unusual thing. These were probably the remains of Indians of a later date, and not of the race that erected the work itself. The mound builders usually burned their dead; and the writer, in exploring their burial mounds in Southern Ohio, has frequently found later Indian interments in these ancient mounds. They are easily distinguished, for the mound builders deposited their burned remains of their dead on the ground, and then raised a mound over them, the relics being always found at the natural level, and in the center of the mound; while the Indian interments were made anywhere on the elevation that suited the fancy of the burial party.

Mr. Whittlesey, in the chapter referred to above, describes eight ancient works, of which the Toledo one is the most westerly, and all in Northern Ohio. Of them he says:

"Nothing can be more plain that that most of the remains in Northern Ohio are military works. They have not yet been found any remnants of the timber in the walls; yet it is very safe to presume that pallisades were planted on them, and that wooden posts and gates were erected at the passages left in the embankments and ditches.

"All the positions are contiguous to water; and none of them have higher land in their vicinity, from which they might in any degree be commanded. Of the works bordering on the shore of Lake Erie, through the state of Ohio, there the none but may have been intended for defence; although in some of them the design is not perfectly manifest. They form a line from Conneaut to Toledo, at a distance of from three to five miles from the lake; and all stand upon or near the principal rivers." * * * *

"The most natural inference with respect to the northern cordon of works is, that they formed a well-occupied line, constructed either to protect the advance of a nation landing from the lake and moving southward for conquest; or, a line of resistance for people inhabiting these shores and pressed upon by their southern neighbors. The scarcity of mounds, the absence of pyramids of earth, which are so common on the Ohio, the want of rectangular or any other regular works, at the north—all these differences tend to the conclusion that the northern part of Ohio was occupied by a distinct people."

According to Mr. Whittlesey, this work on the Maumee is the most westerly of the defensive cordon of these ancient forts. The absence of mounds, of which he speaks, points to a short occupation, or to a very small population; for the isolated mounds were tumuli, or burial mounds. The writer knows of but three in this vicinity. Two are on the road to Maumee, a short distance this side of the Halfway House—one in a pear orchard, some fifty yards west of the road, and and the other in the woods a few hundred yards south. The third is in Ottawa Park, marked by a clump of trees, on the crest of the hill west of the lower bridge. The writer would like to be informed of the location of any others in this vicinity.

THE SORROW OF THE NATIONS.

In Memoriam Wm. McKinley.

BY JOHN P. SMITH, SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND.

[Corresponding Member of the Maryland Historical Society and of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.]

There's darkness over every land —
Man takes his fellow by the hand,
The hearts of men now almost fail;
For all the earth is one sad wail.

There's sorrow in the hut and hall,
Our land's enshrouded with a pall;
The bells of death do sadly toll
The grief that overwhelms the soul.

Loved Britain's king of grace and worth,
The millions high or low in birth,
The proudest thrones of royal power,
Are one with us in sorrow's hour.

'Tis not that bloody-handed war —
Nor pestilence has swept our shore;
Our nation's head has fallen now,
Oh, God! to Thee in grief we bow.

O cruel, vile, accursed blow —
That laid our loved McKinley low;
The world's great soul is bowed with grief,
O Father! is there no relief?

Despite the earnest prayers and tears,
Despite the hopeful signs and fears;
The protest o'er our hero's fall,
Death cometh to him after all.

The kneeling millions wonder why
A righteous God should let him die;
Unceasing prayers for him ascend,
Our President, the nation's friend.

Thy fondest hopes were born to fade,
Thy beauty in the dust was laid;
Sleep, sainted spirit, sweetly sleep,
While countless thousands for thee weep.

O'er brightest scenes dark clouds descend,
Each glorious day has its swift end;
The flame soars high but for to fall,
Night cometh to each one and all.

The bloom of beauty we possess —
Though love and life make tearfulness,
The shadow of the funeral pall;
Is death which cometh after all.

We love to think, though lost to view,
Of one so noble, grand and true,
Our President to us so dear,
Beloved by nations far and near.

We know that thou hast entered rest,
With all the blood washed thou art blest;
In realms of Amaranthine bowers,
The gain is thine, the loss is ours.

"God's will be done," thy sainted breath
Proclaimed it in the hour of death,
Bright seraph angels beckon me,
"Nearer my Father, God, to Thee."

Thus with thy last expiring breath,
Thy spirit triumphed over death,
The victory gained, the crown is won,
Eternal life through God's dear Son.

For her who shared his hopes and fears —
His solace in declining years,
Oh, God! be Thou her strength and stay
Through this her melancholy day,

Conduct her safe, conduct her far
Through every ill and hurtful snare,
And when the storms of sorrow lower
Be near her with thy gracious power.

Mysterious is our father's way
Though we journey day by day,
Behind the clouds his face divine,
Like noonday's sun effulgent shine.

Be calm, my heart, and question not
The seeming strangeness of the lot,
Whate'er our Father God ordains,
We know the Lord Jehovah reigns.

Father, protect our native land
From anarchy's accursed hand;
Defend the lives of rulers dear
From day to day, from year to year.

Blot out foul anarchistic stain,
Let not a trace of it remain,
For traitors on this nation's sod,
Are traitors to Almighty God.

EDITORIALANA.

E. O. Randall

HISTORICAL STUDIES.

The value of historical knowledge and study is being more and more appreciated, especially as relates to the beginning and career of our own illustrious country and state. Concerning this subject Professor Wallace N. Stearns of Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, makes some most timely suggestions, which we herewith publish, cordially approving the same and recommending their consideration by our readers and especially by all educators.

"In endeavoring to illustrate the legends and traditions of classical countries, we frequently have had recourse to the use of similar incidents in the history of our own land. For example, the migrations that have occurred in the dawn of European history become more vivid by comparison with similar phenomena in the period of American history prior to and contemporary with the advent of white men. But students frequently are found to be more ignorant of the illustrative material than of the point illustrated. Of the wealth of lore at our very doors, of the richness of legend and tradition, of the abundance of romance and adventure it is not necessary to speak here.

"But acquaintance with this material must begin early. These stories are as entertaining and as profitable as Mother Goose, and far more conducive to patriotism. Students, as they grow older, would learn to feel more than a commercial interest in their country. Would not a feasible plan for arousing such interest be: 1. To introduce into the curriculum of the public schools the study of the beginnings of American history? A suitable manual for such work, comparable with text-books, on Greek and Roman antiquities, would be a prime necessity. 2. To arrange a reading course for systematic study. Representative volumes might be included in the circulating libraries.

"Such a policy would create an intelligent interest in a subject, a knowledge of which could not fail to react beneficially on the student.

"This plan would help the archæologist. Private collections, small, but often valuable, are scattered and lost because the owners are ignorant of the value of what they possess. The awakening of interest would lead to the gathering up and preserving of these collections.

"This study would acquaint us with many ballads and legends now practically forgotten, and further, we should have at our hand a story replete with deeds of heroism and fortitude, of crushing failure and triumphant achievements such as would fill with enthusiasm the most apathetic."

"THE SIGN OF THE PROPHET."

We have often wondered why Ohio has not been a more fruitful field for the romancer than it seems to have been. Rich in archæological and historical lore; the great arena of the Indian wars and contests between the French and English; the frontier of the westward moving civilization, Ohio presents fertile soil for the story writer. To a certain extent this field is invaded by Dr. James Ball Naylor, of McConnellsville, Ohio, in his historical novel "The Sign of the Prophet." The Prophet is the famous Tenskwatawa, the one-eyed brother of the great Shawnee chief, Tecumseh. The career of Tenskwatawa is weird and romantic as the wildest dreamer could conjecture. The Prophet undertakes to rally, by the assumption of religious and supernatural power, the western tribes of Indians and confederate them in a great uprising movement against the advancing white civilization. In this Tecumseh was his aider, if not indeed his chief and leader. Dr. Naylor avails himself of this splendid material for his work. His story opens at Franklinton, now a portion of Columbus. One Ross Douglas, accompanied by a Wyandot Indian, Bright Wing, adopted son of Leatherlips, goes to join Harrison's army at Vincennes at the outbreak of the Indian War in 1811. The thread of the story follows the trail of Douglas, who leaves Amy Larkin, his sweetheart, on the banks of the Scioto. The story is pathetic and natural. Amy after the departure of Ross marries his rival, a scoundrel, George Hilliard, who abuses and deserts his wife. Douglas has many hazardous and exciting experiences, as a brave and loyal soldier in Harrison's army. He is captured and wounded and has escapades varied and numerous enough to satisfy the most demanding taste for perils and predicaments. He is ever accompanied by Bright Wing and a faithful and almost humanly sagacious bloodhound "Duke." Indeed Duke adds a peculiar charm to the story and is a most original feature of the author's creation. In the war Douglas encounters La Violette, a Helen in beauty, an orphan child of Canadian parents and adopted daughter of the Prophet. About the time Douglas' affections have been thus transferred, Amy appears under distressing circumstances, becomes suddenly widowed and Douglas has to make final choice between the two loves, the old and the new. La Violette wins. It is a capitally told story, carrying the reader steadily amid the life and scenes of frontier warfare and Indian days. The battle of Tippecanoe, siege of Fort Meigs and other memorable events are accurately described. Dr. Naylor has adhered closely to historical lines. His description of the Prophet, his peculiar hold on his followers, and the final collapse of his leadership and influence are presented in a most lifelike and picturesque manner. Dr. Naylor's book should be read by the young especially; it will give them all the adventures they ask for, while imparting to them much valuable information and stimulating rather than destroying

a fondness for history itself. Dr. Naylor's book is having the large sale it well deserves. It is published by the Saalfield Publishing Company, Akron, Ohio.

BLENNERHASSETT AGAIN.

In the July (1901) number of the QUARTERLY we made somewhat extended allusion to the then current (July) *Century* article, by Therese Blennerhassett-Adams, entitled "The True Story of Harman Blennerhassett." In the same number we noticed briefly Prof. W. H. Venable's historical novel "A Dream of Empire," which deals with the scenes and personages involved in the career of the American Blennerhassett. We hardly closed Prof. Venable's delightful volume before broadcast advertisements called our attention to the story, just published by Charles Felton Pidgin, U. S. A., bearing the title "Blennerhassett — A Romance." Mr. Pidgin's book is a highly spiced account of the same epoch and events treated by Prof. Venable. With the Blennerhassetts as the central figures, the Colonel reproduces in rich, and at times, extravagant imagination, the romantic story of the unscrupulous Burr and his ill fated and unsuspecting victim, Harman Blennerhassett. There are the well known characters of Wilkinson, Hamilton, Jefferson, Aaron and Theodosia Burr, the Blennerhassetts, Harman and Margaret, and the minor figures in immediate attendance upon the principals in the so-called "Burr Conspiracy" and subsequent tragic ending of Theodosia. Prof. Venable crowded a volume of history into a light, pleasing story — it had the charm of romance without sacrifice to the reality or truth of history. He gave us the personages in their actual characters. It is a model in conception and execution of the best type of the historical novel. Mr. Pidgin avowedly sets out to pervert history and distort characters. His book is an attempt to "whitewash" Aaron Burr and blacken Alexander Hamilton. He would remove all odium thus far resting undisturbed upon the loyalty and integrity of Burr. In this heroizing process Mr. Pidgin naturally, under the circumstances, has to resort to powerful stimulants and appointments in the shape of highly wrought scenes; theatrical climaxes; "blood and thunder and blue lights"; that would do credit to the prize numbers of yellow backed literature. Like the magician on the stage in the dazzling glare of electric effects, and red velvet and gold tinsel trappings, Mr. Pidgin hopes to bewilder the reader while he "presto, change," transforms some evil spirits into white winged fairies and vice versa. And Mr. Pidgin is very clever; he is no mean necromancer. He is a consummate expert of his craft. He is a gifted artist in style. He wields a poignant pen. The reader is whirled along spell bound; lays down the fascinating book and rubs his eyes as if coming out of a maze. In short, this story as related by Mr. Pidgin is a strong "show" — it is a spectacular production, it is realistic, but it is very far from being historic. Mr. Pidgin in his preface speak-

ing of the historical basis of his book says: "Where the statement was one of fact, fact has been adhered to. Where the language is imaginative such words have been chosen to express fiction as seemed to conform to those used to convey fact; in other words, if the characters in this romance did not do the things or say the words attributed to them, from what they did do or say, it seems fair and proper to infer that they would have done or said them had occasion offered, or circumstances been propitious." Now that is a laudable statement—but in Mr. Pidgin's hands it proves but dust for the public eye. In the heat of the last gubernatorial contest (fall of 1901) we received a letter from a party in a distant part of the state, inclosing a little campaign pamphlet containing a series of malignant false charges against a prominent candidate. Our epistolary interrogator wrote: "My dear sir, I know you are intimately acquainted with the candidate this circular tells about. What I want to know is, *are these facts true?*" I hastened to assure my well meaning but somewhat mixed seeker after veracity, that as a general proposition facts were true. But the charges in the pamphlet in question were not facts—they were fiction. That is the trouble with Mr. Pidgin's "facts" which he uses as a basis for his "historical" novel. His facts are not true. He has written a most fascinating and at times thrilling narrative. But after his professions in the preface he wrongs his readers by misleading them into the realms of pure fiction while calling it "historical." His work is most entertaining as a novel, and he should have let it go at that. If he wanted to restore Burr to respectable standing—he should have done it in an historical manner, by producing the evidence. This soaping of historical figures, condemned to disgrace and obloquy, with the sapolio of sympathy and condonement, is a dangerous fad. We have read volumes claiming to be history, that Richard III. never had a hump on his back but was the very "mold of form" and a model of correctness in character; that Henry VIII. was a paragon of patience, purity and conjugal dutifulnetss; that Lucretia Borgia was a gentle, saintly woman that would have swooned at the thought of killing a fly with poisoned sugar; that Judas Iscariot was the truest and the best of the twelve, and so on. We happen to be just now perusing a late volume on Jean Paul Marat, the "Monster of the French Revolution," in which work the author endeavors to prove that Marat was the most maligned man of that fiery period; stainless in his private life and actuated by the loftiest principles of humanity, philanthropy and patriotism; a martyr to the cause of freedom, averse to blood and injustice; in short, that he was the embodiment of an entire humane society of the latest perfected condition and workings. These eccentric ebullitions are literary curios and more or less fascinating, but must not be taken too seriously. Mr. Pidgin has produced a most readable book, the plot is dramatic, the scenes picturesque and graphic, the characters strong and distinct but the atmosphere is not natural—too often the environment is forced, entirely too stagy to be real. His attempt to elevate Burr to the rank of patriotism

and honor is not deserving of praise. The historical data are heavily, conclusively against Burr. Burr was a man with the inordinate ambition of Bonaparte and equally unscrupulous, cold blooded and selfish. There was no sacrifice of friends or country or honor or truth or morality he would not make for self-gratification and self-glorification. Burr was a born intriguer and was associated with Lee and Gates in their schemes against Washington. He was detected by the latter in gross immoralities, and ever after he affected to despise the military genius and noble character of Washington. He basely entrapped the simple minded Blennerhasset. He wrecked his victim and cowardly deserted him when the game was up. More than that, in the most dastardly manner he scorned Blennerhasset in the hours of the latter's distress and disgrace. No historical novel can right the wrongs committed by Aaron Burr, though that novel be written by so gifted and accomplished a writer as Mr. Pidgin.

GREAT SEAL OF OHIO.

We have frequent inquiries concerning the Coat of Arms of the State of Ohio and especially whether Ohio ever adopted the motto *Imperium in Imperio.*

On April 6, 1866, the Legislature passed the following act:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That the coat of arms of the state of Ohio shall consist of the following device: A shield, upon which shall be engraved on the left, in the foreground, a bundle of seventeen arrows; to the right of the arrows, a sheaf of wheat, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a range of mountains, over which shall appear a rising sun; between the base of the mountains and the arrows and the sheaf, in the left foreground, a river shall be represented flowing towards the right foreground; supporting the shield, on the right, shall be the figure of a farmer, with implements of agriculture and sheafs of wheat standing erect and recumbent; and in the distance, a locomotive and train of cars; supporting the shield, on the left, shall be the figure of a smith, with anvil and hammer; and in the distance, water, with a steamboat; at the bottom of the shield there shall be a motto, in these words: *Imperium in Imperio.*

SEC. 2. The great seal of the state shall be two and one-half inches in diameter, on which shall be engraved the devise included within the shield, as described in the preceding section, and it shall be surrounded with these words: "The Great Seal of the State of Ohio." Vol. 63, page 185.

On May 9, 1868, the Legislature amended the above act and passed the following:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That the coat of arms of the State of Ohio shall consist of the

following device: A shield, in form, a circle. On it, in the foreground, on the right, a sheaf of wheat; on the left, a bundle of seventeen arrows, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain range, over which shall appear a rising sun.

SEC. 2. The great seal of the state shall be two and one-half inches in diameter, on which shall be engraved the device as described in the preceding section, and it shall be surrounded with these words: "The great seal of the State of Ohio."

SEC. 4. The act passed April 6, 1868 (O. L. 63, 185), entitled an act to provide the devices and great seal and coat of arms of the State of Ohio, and said act as amended April 16, 1867 (O. L. 64, 191), be and the same are hereby repealed.

It will thus be seen that the motto *Imperium in Imperio* only existed during the short life of two years. It may not be uninteresting to note that the Legislature which adopted the "imperial" motto was a Republican one, while the repealing assembly was Democratic, being the same which elected Hon. Allen G. Thurman to the United States Senate. The coat of arms practically as we now have it was originally adopted in year 1802 or soon after the State was admitted into the Union.

HARPERS MONTHLY AND SERPENT MOUND.

Harper's Monthly for January current, has an interesting article by Prof. Harlan Ingersoll Smith, Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, entitled the Great Pyramid. In this sketch, which treats of a few of the most prominent archaeological monuments in the United States, Prof. Smith describes Fort Ancient and the Serpent Mound. After speaking of the preservation by our Society of these valuable relics of a prehistoric day, Prof. Smith says: "It (Fort Ancient) is now preserved in a public park, like the Great Serpent, Ohio's other famous aboriginal earth-work, and, like that, is controlled for the public good and preserved for posterity by the Ohio State Historical Society. Nor should it be forgotten, that the good work initiated by Professor Putnam of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, and followed by the Ohio State Historical Society, is of the highest value to the country at large and to future generations, as well as deserving of the highest praise in our own time." We quote in full Prof. Smith's description of Serpent Mound. "Of all these mounds, the Great Serpent appeals peculiarly to the imagination. About its story, which is yet to be told, the fancy of the twentieth century weaves traditions of serpent-worship in a forgotten civilization, or dreams of Eden and man's first disobedience. On the top of a rocky promontory extending into the beautiful valley of Brush Creek, in Adams county, Ohio, in the year 1848, Squier and Davis, the pioneers of American archæology, located the Serpent in a dense forest, and first described it. An earthen effigy, complete and symmetrical, the Great Serpent

measures from the uper jaw to the tip of the tail twelve hundred and fifty-four feet, in folds so lifelike, as they rise near the head to a height of five feet above the ground, that their very view inspires the beholder with awe. In front of the mouth lies the outline of that part of this monumental earthwork which has been called the Egg, around which open the jaws of the Serpent as if in the act of swallowing. From the outer wall of this small oval, or Egg, the tip of the Serpent's tail is four hundred and ninety-six feet distant. The Egg is itself one hundred and twenty feet long and sixty feet at its greatest width. The Serpent's jaws are banks of earth seventeen feet wide each, and sixty-one and fifty-six feet respectively in length. The distance across the open mouth, from lip to lip, is seventy-five feet. In the centre of the oval there is now standing, as there has been from time immemorial, a mound of burnt stones. This sacrificial mound, or altar, perhaps, has in past years, been uprooted by white men in the vain search for buried gold, but still preserves its identity; at the base of the cliff upon which the Great Serpent was constructed similar stones showing the action of fire in past ages have been found in comparatively recent years. Fortunaty further depredations have been prevented by the purchase of the Great Serpent and the surrounding land with a fund raised by private subscription among the ladies of Massachusetts, who subsepuently transferred the property to the trustees of the Peabody Museum in Cambridge. They in turn made over the Great Serpent Park to the people of the state of Ohio, who now protect it by legislative enactment under conditions similar to those to which the Fort Ancient Embankment is safeguarded." Prof. Smith's article is accompanied by several excellent pictures of both Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound.

PIONEERS OF FAIRFIELD COUNTY.

Mr. C. M. L. Wiseman, Author of "Centennial Lancaster," has just issued a little volume on "Pioneer Period and Pioneer People of Fairfield County, Ohio." Mr. Wiseman has performed his task in a most pleasing and painstaking manner. Fairfield County is rich in historical and biographical material. Mr. Wiseman has developed this in an accurate and satisfactory way. Many of the most illustrious families in Ohio's history are associated, either by birth or residence, with Fairfield County. James G. Blaine, Thomas Ewing, William Medill, John Brough, the Shermans, C. R., John and Tecumseh. There is a very interesting and valuable chapter on the Zane family. Ebenezer Zane was employed by the U. S. Government in 1796 to open a road from Wheeling, W. Va. to Maysville, Ky. Ebenezer with his Indian guide "Tomepomehala" and perhaps others, inspected the route and blazed the way. It was the famous "Zane's Trace." Zane's sons laid out the town of Lancaster in the year 1800. Mr. Wiseman has made a decided contribution to the historical literature of Ohio. The book is printed in most creditable form by F. J. Heer & Company, Columbus, Ohio.

OHIO IN EARLY HISTORY AND DURING THE REVOLUTION.

BY E. O. RANDALL, PH. B., L. L. M.

Secretary Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; President Ohio Society Sons of the American Revolution.

No territory, in the new world at least, perhaps not in the old, presents so much of interest, at once to the archæologist and the historian, as the inland portion of America now and for a century, designated as the State of Ohio. Ohio, or the land thus labeled, has been the arena for the activities more or less pronounced of two prehistoric races. The good book records that the earth was created, lifted from chaos into form, when the morning and evening was the third day. We therefore know that Ohio was born on Wednesday, but we have no calendar at hand to tell us the month or even the year. Scientists guardedly remark that the mundane origin which includes Ohio was simply "eons ago." At subsequent periods there were various "doings" of a geologic character and then this fair state, with other sections of the Northwest, was submerged under fields of congealed water and the original "ice man" had a monopoly of surface affairs. Then nature repented, grew sympathetic and warmed up and there was a great "melt" and the hills peeped forth, the valleys grew green and the streams rippled and ran their courses through the glad earth. At this point science, ever nimble and wily, takes a sort of hop, skip and jump, and suggests the ice man may have been succeeded by the "midden" man or shell people; but he is merely a "perhaps" in this locality; if he did ply his game, he left no chips and his entry and exit are undefined though his pet animal, the mastodon, is occasionally discovered in skeleton form, beneath the Buckeye soil. Doubtless the next tenant, and possibly the first one we really feel sure about, was the mysterious mound builder. Ohio must have been his favorite field, for it is dotted over, as is no other

state in the union, with thousands of his relics, many massive and magnificent, well preserved monuments of his existence and primitive life. He left no written record, but he made his indelible mark in graves, village sites and earthen structures of religious or military significance, "silent witnesses of a busy but unfathomable antiquity" that unmistakably betoken an ambitious and strenuous life.

As the mound builder seemed to recede from the haunts of life, the great savage, known as the Indian, came into view. Somewhere between these two peoples, the moundmen and the redmen, is to be located the line between the prehistoric and the historic. To this wild and picturesque Indian Ohio was a chosen hunting and camping ground; here were his great rallying centers; many of his numerous nations and tribes wandered over its extent, or battled with each other for tribal supremacy and in concert or singly combated their common enemy the pale face. In Ohio the great Indian heroes, Pontiac, Cornstalk, Little Turtle, Logan and last and greatest of all, Tecumseh, contended for the rights and preservation of their people. It was here, as nowhere else, between the majestic Ohio and the great lakes that the terminal, tragic contest took place between the retreating savagery of the forest and the advancing, invincible civilization of Europe. Again the two great branches of this European transplantation, the Latin or French, and the Anglo-Saxon or British, transferred their interminable antagonism of the early and middle centuries for superiority on the old continent to the newly discovered world and the soil of Ohio was the scene of the last bitter encounter. Then came the reckoning between the divisions of the Anglo-Saxon, the English and the American. Ohio has thus been the greatest battle ground of American history and one of the chief battle grounds of all history. Her inhabitants have listened in dire dismay to the war whoop of many different savage nations and have been subservient to the banners of France, England and the United States. There is no historical narrative comparable to it.

UNDER THE FRENCH FLAG.

The adventurous and chivalrous French first claimed Ohio. Under the patronage of the elegant and ambitious Francis I, who, as the politicians phrase it, "viewed with alarm" the discoveries the English and Spanish were making in the new world, Jacques Cartier (in 1534) navigated the unknown waters of the broad St. Lawrence. Others followed till Champlain (1603) "the father of New France," was the first white man to look across the waters of Lake Huron. He planted the colony of Quebec (1608), and in 1620 was appointed by the King (Louis XIII) Governor of Canada. Then followed rapidly the western water discoveries (1618-42), and the navigations of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior by Champlain's associates or successors, as Brule, Nicolet and Joliet. These were the early days of the Jesuit Missions, and the straggling and struggling settlements of New France along the great water ways from the St. Lawrence to the Straits of Mackinac and beyond. The Indian contested the encroachment of the French, but the intrepid fur trader and the zealous missionary were not to be dislodged, though the war of the savage with the civilized races was to continue for a century and a half. The enterprising French merchant like Radisson and the dauntless missionary like Marquette, moved on into the trackless West while the English colonies, content with religious freedom were growing apace along the Atlantic coast. New France occupied the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes territory, but farther west the pious priest and the pushing peltry trader ventured; across the lakes and by portage to the head waters of the Wisconsin river, down which they floated "till caught and whirled along by the onrushing Mississippi," then accomplishing a discovery that in the words of Bancroft "changed the destinies of the Nations."

Parkman graphically recounts how La Salle in the *Griffin* sailed (1679-81) the waters of Lake Erie bearing "the royal commission to establish a line of forts along the great lakes whereby to hold for France all that rich far country," and passing on through Lakes Huron and Michigan, descended the Illinois river and the Mississippi to the mouth, naming the great

valley through which he passed Louisiana, and claiming it for his sovereign, Le Grand Monarque, Louis XIV. East of the Mississippi all the land included in the triangle of territory from Quebec west along the lakes to the head waters of the Mississippi, thence along its course south to the Mexican Gulf, was claimed by France, all except a strip of land lying along the Atlantic coast and extending scarcely a hundred miles back into the wilderness, in which the claim of England for its colonies was allowed to remain undisputed.

Thus the territory we call Ohio by right of discovery and occupation was the property of that nation whose banner bore the Lillies of the Bourbons. Meanwhile Spain had made landings and settlements about the Gulf of Mexico and along the Florida coast. Spain set up feeble and tentatious claims to the territory between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, extending indefinitely north into the province of France. But no attempt was made to make good this claim.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH COMPETITION.

All this while the Anglo-Saxon, the inveterate foe of the Latin, was slowly but surely getting a firm foothold on the rugged coast of the Atlantic and preparing to cross swords with his old time enemy for the conquest of the West. The Alleghany Mountains were not to be his western limitation. The Anglo-Saxon has always been for ample expansion. The Anglo-Saxon has always been a land grabber and a land holder, and in extenuation be it said, a land improver. In the year 1498, more than a third of a century before Jacques Cartier's little vessel plowed her way up the broad St. Lawrence, and before Columbus had made his last voyage, the Cabots (John and Sebastian, under Henry VII) touched the continent of North America and sailed along the shores from Labrador to the Chesapeake. In 1607 the Jamestown (Va.) Colony became the first permanent English settlement in America. This was just one year before (1608) the foundation of Quebec as the capital of the New French Empire. It was a neck and neck race between the Gaul and the Teuton for American stakes. Under its char-

ter of 1609 the Jamestown company "became possessed in absolute property of lands extending along the sea coast two hundred miles north and the same distance south from Old Point Comfort, and into the land throughout from sea to sea." In 1620 came the memorable Pilgrims under the charter of the Plymouth Company, by which had been conveyed "all the lands between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of North Latitude." It is familiar history how other colonial settlements followed under various forms of charter and patent, how many of these charters called for land from the Atlantic to the unknown limit on the West, how these colony claims often conflicted and overlapped. The English settlers in the Atlantic colonies began to look with longing eyes to the vast expanse beyond the Alleghenies, to that domain claimed by France. The pilgrim had his keen puritanic eye on the Frenchmen. Virginia seemed to be the center that attracted the most enterprising English colonists and she sent forth the most venturesome settlers into the great northwest, for Virginia settlements were on the frontier lines of westward pioneer emigration. Virginia's claim of territory extended west to the Mississippi, and north to a line covering most of what is now Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The territory between La Belle Riviere, as the French poetically called the Ohio, and the waters of the placid Erie, was to be the storm center of the conflict of the two great races over their respective claims, a vast conflict that was in its consequences to determine, not merely the career of these two peoples, but the destiny of the world.

FIRST OHIO COMPANY.

By the year 1748 the plucky and sturdy Pennsylvanians and the belligerent and brave Virginians had worked their way well up to the eastern foot hills of the last range of mountains separating them from the promised land. The time for the English colonists to scale the great mountains and invade the country claimed by the enemy, had been slow in coming, but it was sure to come. This year (1748) the first Ohio Company, consisting of prominent Virginians and Marylanders, was organized. The avowed purpose of this company was a real estate venture;

to speculate in western lands and carry on trade with the Indians. It does not appear to have contemplated the settlement of a new colony. The company obtained from the English crown a conditional grant of 500,000 acres of land in the Ohio Valley, to be located mainly between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers.

BIENVILLE'S (FRENCH) EXPEDITION.

The French proposed to head off this invasion of their territory by the Ohio Company. They decided to occupy the Ohio Valley in force. Preliminary to active military operations, the Chevalier Celoron De Bienville, at the command of Gallissoniere, then governor of Canada and Commander-in-Chief of New France, was sent to take formal possession of the Ohio, conciliate the Indians and thwart the English. Bienville, with a band of more than two hundred French soldiers and boatmen, proceeded to the Alleghany river and in birch canoes floated down the Ohio, stopping here and there to treat with the Indians and to tack upon some tree, or to bury at the mouth of some tributary, a lead plate inscribed with the flower-de-luce and bearing a "nota bene" to the effect that the French thus posted and filed their title to the Ohio river and of all those rivers that flow into it, as far as their sources. In the vernacular of the day, the descendants of the ancient Gauls were asserting a "tinplate" monopoly of the country. Bienville descended the Ohio as far as the Miami then cut across the country by the Miami and Maumee, thence by Lake Erie back to Montreal. His report to the French governor was not assuring. Bienville had found English traders scattered over the Ohio Valley and the Indians generally well disposed to the English. He found an English trading stockade near the present site of Piqua and another near the mouth of the Scioto. Johnny Bull was not so slow, he was in very conspicuous evidence.

GIST'S (ENGLISH) EXPEDITION.

In order to checkmate this exploring and "claiming with confidence" expedition of Bienville, the Ohio Company (1750) sent Christopher Gist down the northern side of the Ohio, with

instructions "to examine the western country as far as the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), to look for a large tract of good land; to mark the passes in the mountains, to trace the courses of the rivers; to count the water falls; to observe the strength of the Indian nations." The Ohio Company was the original western real estate boomer. Gist made the first English exploration of Southern Ohio of which we have any definite detailed report. Gist and his companions, among whom was the Irish Indian agent, George Crogham, followed the old Indian trail from Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg) to the Shawanese town of Old Chillicothe on the Scioto. They camped at the "great swamp," bed of the reservoir, now Buckeye Lake, thence proceeded to the town of Tasightwi, (Piqua) on the Miami; then the capital of the powerful western Indian confederacy and perhaps the strongest Indian town on the continent. Gist returned by the Miami to the Ohio, thence home by way of Kentucky. The exploring tramps of Bienville and Gist were of thrilling interest. They met Scotch Irish Indian traders in the deepest recesses of the forest. Briton thrift knew no obstacle or opposition. These preliminary outpostings through the primeval forest precluded the racial encounter. The governor general of Canada ordered Bienville, with sufficient soldiery to proceed from Detroit into the Ohio country and expell the English traders. At the same time General Duquesne was dispatched from Montreal with a force of French troops to establish posts at Presque Isle (Erie) on Lake Erie, Venango on the Allegheny river and other points necessary to cut off the approach of the English from the East.

LOGSTOWN CONFERENCE.

Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, a member of the Ohio Company, saw the importance of counter work. He resolved to send a messenger to ascertain the numbers and intentions of the French and to deliver to their commanding officer an imperative remonstrance against the Gallic occupation of the Ohio Valley. George Washington, then but twenty-one, but already familiar with frontier life, was the envoy of that message. Washington,

escorted by Gist, proceeded to Logstown, the Seneca Indian village, eighteen miles below the present site of Pittsburg, and there met (1753) the Half King of the six nations and the French officer, St. Pierre, who represented Duquesne. It was a curious council. The Indian chiefs claimed the country in question as theirs; they had ordered the French away; the English, they protested, had no better right, and both must cease "to poach on their preserves;" "the land belongs neither to the one nor the other; but the Great Being allowed it to be a place of residence for us," was the plaintive and pathetic plea of the intuitive Indian. The French reply to the Indian was, that the Indians had no right of possession to the Ohio country, as the French had taken possession of it before the present Indian claimants had moved in, and that the occupant Indian tribes were often at war with themselves over their respective possessions. The English reply to the Indian was, that the Iroquois who had long established rights by prowess, conquest and occupation, had in various treaties ceded control of this land to the English. The Iroquois had conquered the Eries (Northern Ohio) as early as 1656. Particularly in 1744 had the Iroquois deputies at Lancaster, Pa., confirmed to the English the territory "beyond the mountains" in the Ohio Valley. Again at Albany in 1748, the bonds binding the Six Nations and the English together were renewed and strengthened, and in this the Miami Ohio Indians had united. Well may we dwell upon this singular and unique historic episode. Three great and powerful races as disputants in a dramatic and eventful scene. The savage of North America, the child of the unbroken forest "as free as nature first made man," and the latter day Latin, wishful of the revival of the faded laurels of centuries of conquest — the Latin whose glories and triumphs reached back for two thousand years into the days when the gods sat on Olympus; and the Anglo-Saxon scion of the Teuton, that race that rose across the Alps and from the frigid fields of the North, like the thundering Thor they worshipped, poured forth with irresistable front, rude warriors of bygone ages, to trample beneath their feet "the grandeur that was Rome." And now these two races, foes from days of fable, once again in the Western wilds of the newly discovered world, stand

face to face while the redman halts trembling between. The conference came to naught. There was no alternative. Washington reported results to the Lords of trade in London. They addressed to the governors of the colonies the advice to congregate and consult upon united action against the usurpation of the French. The Colonist Convention for the proposed purpose was held at Albany, June, 1754. That convention failed of its object, but was of paramount significance to the colonists because it was the occasion in which all unwittingly the mother country had given her American children a suggestive lesson in self government. Benjamin Franklin, who was present, contributed to the assembly a well devised plan for definite union of the colonies under a common governor to be appointed by the crown; a plan adopted by the convention but rejected by both the colonies and the crown; by the American colonies because it smacked too much of monarchal prerogatives, and by the British ministry because there was in it too much of democracy.

UNDER THE ENGLISH FLAG.

The guage of war alone was to settle the alleged rights of the various claimants. The Indian was to be ground between the other two and a great historian says, "the issue at the opening of the struggle was, which of the two languages should be the mother tongue of the future millions of the great West — whether the Romanic or the Teutonic race should form the seed of its people." But the question soon became wider than the West. France at this critical moment "had two heads — one among the snows of Canada and one among the cane-brakes of Louisiana; one communicating with the world through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other through the Gulf of Mexico." These vital points were connected by a chain of military and trading posts, feeble and few and far between, reaching through the wilderness nearly three thousand miles. Midway between Canada and Louisiana lay the Valley of the Ohio. If the English could seize that Valley they would, Napoleonic like, sever the enemy and cut French America asunder. The French forces with the St. Lawrence as a base, began moving southward

in the direction of the Ohio; the English forces, with the seaboard as a base, began moving northward toward the same destination. These two moving lines converged at the Monongahela near the forks of the Ohio, July 9, 1755. The French contingent consisted of a motley mixture of Canadians and Indians, a thousand strong under De Beaujeu. The blustering Braddock led fifteen hundred British regulars. The cautious advice of Washington, who was on Braddock's staff, was unheeded — the English were ambuscaded and Braddock met a brave death amid a disgraceful defeat. That battle was the initiative of Washington's career and fame. This was the overture to the French and Indian War. It threw Europe even in a turmoil, and led there to the Seven Years' War (1756-63), and was, as Macauley notes, the first and only European war that began on this side of the ocean. We cannot follow the fortunes of this interesting war. On the continent of the old world the contest was far-reaching. Mr. Green, the historian, speaking of Pitt, at this time the genius of the English cabinet, says: "He felt the stake he was playing for was something vaster than Britain's standing among the powers of Europe. Even while he backed Frederick the Great in Germany, his eye was not on the Weser, but on the Hudson and the St. Lawrence." As to America, the conflict terminated September 13, 1759, when the armies of Montcalm and Wolfe engaged on the Heights of Abraham. John Fiske wrote of it: "The triumph of Wolfe works the greatest turning point as yet discoverable in modern history." The next year witnessed the capitulation of Canada. By the treaty of Paris (1763), in which the results of the seven years' war were adjusted, France yielded to England her American possessions east of the Mississippi and north of the Great Lakes and along the St. Lawrence. Louisiana west of the Mississippi went to Spain, which sided with France. And Spain in turn ceded to England her Florida possessions. The British flag floated over the Ohio Valley and the "tin plate titles" of France were no longer valid.

RESULTS OF BRITISH RULE.

The treaty of Paris signed, the policy of English supremacy began to change. The dominating spirit of John Bull quickly asserted itself. Previous to the war England had virtually affirmed the principle that the discoverer and occupant of the coast was entitled to all the country back of it; she had carried her colonial boundaries across the continent from sea to sea, and as against France, had maintained the original chartered broad limits of her coast settlements. On that principle the colonies stood her in good stead — they fought France for themselves, as well as for the mother country. Moreover the grant to the Ohio Company in 1748 proved that England then had no thought of preventing over-mountain settlements or of limiting the western expansion of the colonies. But now that France was vanquished and no longer to be reckoned with, it was different. The courage and endurance the colonies showed in the war had both pleased and disturbed the mother country; pleased her, because they contributed materially to the defeat of France, and disturbed her because they portended a still larger growth of that spirit of independence which had already become somewhat embarrassing. The eagerness with which the Virginians and Pennsylvanians were preparing to enter the Ohio Valley in the years 1748-1754, told England what might be expected now that the whole country lay open to the Mississippi. The home government undertook to meet the occasion with the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763. In this arbitrary decree his Royal Highness, King of England, declared in substance that the territory claimed by France and now ceded to England, should still be kept apart from the colonies and regarded as under the immediate domination of the crown, like the Province of Quebec. The coast colonies were not to profit by this "expansion" west save at the "King's pleasure" — "the lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic were especially reserved to the Indian tribes for hunting grounds." In short — spite of the charter or patent to the contrary — the Valley of the Ohio and the country south of the great lakes was not open to settlement or purchase "without special leave and license." All

settlers located there were notified to "move off." Trade with the Indians was largely prohibited by required licenses and restrictive regulations. Thus the Northwest was won, not for the colonies, but exclusively for the crown. Peaceful relations with the Indians, the extension of the fur trade, and the safety of the colonies, were the reasons assigned for this policy. This "first charter of the northwest" meant the raising of a despotic and military rule by Great Britain over the newly acquired territory and an embargo on western emigration and extension. The government thought this would placate the Indian, as it practically assured him unmolested continuance in his possessions. But the unerring instinct of the untutored savage read the royal decree between the lines to mean a new and strong mastery, blindly dictated by powers beyond the great waters. The Indians rebelled against the new masters of these domains and rose in open hostility, beginning with Pontiac's brilliant but futile conspiracy, which was met in turn (1764) by Bradstreet's expedition against the Indians on the lakes and Bouquet's expedition to the Muskingum, and his encounter with the Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa and Wyandotte Indians. The policy of expansion-exclusion by England was stolidly and stupidly enforced. Plans and applications for new colonies and settlement rights in the Ohio Valley were obstinately turned down by the English council. This continued for eleven years, till 1774; that year was memorable for several odious and decisive occurrences; it was the year of the Boston (closing) port bill, and the Massachusetts bay bill; but no one of these measures was more obnoxious to the colonists than the Quebec act. This act among many impolitic and offensive features, gave certain religious rights to the French inhabitants, in order to propitiate and attach them by interest and sympathy to England and so to prevent their making common cause with the colonists in case trouble should arise with the latter. But what more directly touched and aroused the English colonists, especially in the West, was the extension, in the act, of the Province of Quebec on the North to Hudson Bay, and on the Southwest and West to the Ohio and Mississippi. The Northwest was sealed as peculiarly a province of the crown. The bars were raised and fastened as never before.

To the colonies the fertile lands along and north of the Ohio were an irresistible temptation. The Quebec act meant mischief for all parties. It was inevitable that the colonies could not be confined east of the Alleghenies. "Westward the course of empire takes it way" is not mere poetry; it is a national impulse.

OPENING OF THE REVOLUTION IN OHIO.

The year 1774 marked the real opening of the Revolution in the West as in the East. On September 5, the first Continental Congress met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, in the opening of which Patrick Henry, of Virginia, struck the "key-note" by saying: "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinction between Virginians, Pennsylvanians and New Englanders is no more. I am not a Virginian but an American." The colonies were nerving themselves for the first blow. It was the westerner, the frontiersman who struck it. Moreover that blow was a double dealing one. It hit the arbitrary power of the oppressor while it staggered his chief ally, the supporting Indian. The peace provoking Quakers of Pennsylvania, no less than the contentious Cavaliers of Virginia, invaded, in no small numbers, the Ohio country. Under the Quebec act, these westward movers and settlers had trespassed upon the British domain, the reserved lands of the Indian. Both sides courted trouble. It came without delay. One of the principal provocations was the atrocious massacre of the family of the Mingo chief, Logan, by the intruding whites. The border Indian war burst aflame. The Earl of Dunmore, colonial governor of Virginia was a descendant of the Stuarts and a Tory to the core. But he was tenacious of Virginia's prerogatives and claimed her jurisdiction according to her chartered limits. Virginia "applauded Dunmore when he set at naught the Quebec act and kept possession of the government and right to grant lands on the Scioto, the Wabash and the Illinois." Dunmore was for "war." He decided to raise an army of three thousand to be in two equal divisions; one to consist of the more experienced militiamen under himself, and the other of backwoods and frontiersmen under General Andrew Lewis. While Lewis was mus-

tering his host of rude riflemen, Dunmore with fifteen hundred soldiers proceeded to Fort Pitt, thence by flotilla down the Ohio to the mouth of the Hockhocking, where he built a stockade and named it Fort Gower. He then marched to the Scioto and entrenched himself on the Pickaway Plains near the Indian town of Old Chillicothe. He had with him as scouts, George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Kenton and Simon Girty. Meantime the great Shawnee Chief, Cornstalk, had summoned some twelve hundred, or more, daring braves and hastened with them to the Ohio, which he crossed and met, on the Virginia side at the Great Kanawha (Point Pleasant), on October 10, General Lewis, who was advancing to join Dunmore. General Lewis had some twelve hundred Virginian "soldiers." It might be called a "pick up" army. The uniform of officers and men was the individual costume of the frontier hunter. They wore fringed shooting shirts, dyed red, yellow, brown and white; quaintly carved shot bags and powder horns hung from their belts; they had fur caps or soft hats and woolen leggings that reached to the thigh. Each carried his own flintlock, tomahawk and scalping knife. They were "raw recruits" so far as military discipline was concerned, but they were "fighters" from top to toe. They knew every trick of the wily enemy. The battle was one of the most bitter and bloody in the early history of the western country. It was hotly contested for several hours. But the Indians were forced to give way. It was the first considerable battle in which they fought without the aid of the French. The loss to the Americans was great but their victory complete. It was a purely American victory for it was fought solely by backwoodsmen themselves. They were not the king's "regulars" as at Braddock's defeat. Has there ever been better soldiers than the American volunteer? The results of this battle were of paramount importance. As Roosevelt says, it kept the Northwestern tribes quiet for the first two years of the Revolutionary struggle, and above all, rendered possible the settlement of Kentucky and the winning of the West. Lewis with his victorious men crossed the Ohio and pushed on to the quarters of Dunmore. A peace conference was held with the Indians whose spirit had been broken by their unexpected and decisive defeat. The crestfallen

braves assented to all the terms the "long knives," their conquerors, proposed. They surrendered all claim to the lands south of the Ohio. All the big chiefs were present at this conference, save Logan, who refused to attend and addressed to Gen. John Gibson, for transmission to Dunmore, that speech which ranks with the first among savage outbursts of oratory. The expedition having been eminently successful, Dunmore's army took up its march homeward. On nearing Fort Gower a most interesting and significant incident occurred. The news for the first time now reached them of the convening and session of the American Congress. The officers held a notable meeting and passed resolutions, which were afterwards published; they complimented their general Dunmore; they professed allegiance to their king and the British crown, but added that this devotion would only last while the king deigned to rule over a free people, for their love for the liberty of America outweighed all other considerations and they would exert every power for its defence, not riotously, but when regularly called forth by the voice of their countrymen, and they expressed their warm sympathy with the new Continental Congress. Noteworthy action on Ohio soil, the valiant backwoodsman and militiaman, from Virginia, the first of the colonies, proclaim their sentiments of freedom and independence. Not only from the rock-bound coast and eastern mountain side, but alike from the banks of the far Ohio was the call of freedom heard and answered.

THE OHIO VALLEY DURING THE REVOLUTION.

How unfit England was in the days of George III to be the possessor of the Ohio Valley, was shown by the course she pursued from the close of the French war to the beginning of the Revolution. She was first anxious to secure possession of the Ohio and then reluctant to see it put to any civilized use. Her narrow and short-sighted conduct concerning the great West was one of the chief causes leading to the war for independence. The Revolution was inevitable. At Lexington and Concord (April 19, 1775) was fired the shot that echoed around the world.

The die was cast. That echo reverberated across the Alleghenies and adown the Ohio Valley. "Although a solitude and because a solitude, the over mountain country had more at stake in the Revolution than the Atlantic slope." On the sea board, whatever the issues of the war, an Anglo-Saxon civilization, though it might be greatly stunted and impoverished, was assured; but in the western valleys such few seeds of civilization as had been planted were Gallican and not Saxon. Moreover, there were great uncertainties and perils growing out of the relation of that country to the Franco-Spanish civilization of Louisiana, that vast territory stretching from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Between 1748 and 1783 the western question presented three distinct phases. In 1748-1763 it was the supremacy of England or France in the west; in 1763-1775 it was whether the country should belong to the redman or the white man; and in 1775-1783 it was whether it should form a part of the United States or of some foreign power.

Before the beginning of the French War the western Indians had been disposed to listen to the English envoys rather than the French, but Braddock's blunder and rout gave them a contempt for the British braves, and brought upon the English frontier settlements the brutal fury of the Western redmen. "The Indians were products of the soil, like the trees and wild game, but France could not transfer them (in 1763) with the same facility to their new masters, the Saxon." The sagacious savage understood perfectly well that the English were far more dangerous to them than the French had been. The posting of garrisons in the Western forts would surely bring to their best hunting grounds swarms of colonists greedy for the lands and proposing to be permanent occupants. The American Revolution in the Ohio Valley was a continuation of the French and Indian War, the old conflict, renewed with some change of parties. The infant and independent states find the savage power of the Northwest arrayed against them as before; France had dropped out and England, the imperial England, had taken her place, succeeding to many French methods, even that of employing the tomahawk of the savage against her revolted colonies. As England had employed the Hessians to do her fighting at the

front she proposed to engage the Indians to do her fighting in the rear of the colonial territory. The fiendish proposition of the British Ministry to secure the scalping knife in aid of the mother country called out from Lord Chatham — the great commoner — one of his immortal bursts of eloquence. It was also repugnant to the feelings of General Howe, Commander-in-Chief of the English forces, and Sir Guy Carleton, British Governor of the Province of Quebec, but it was heartily approved by Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent at Detroit. The latter at once made ready to use all the resources that his position gave him, to bring upon the rear and flank of the rebelling states the only form of warfare known in those regions. He subsidized the Indians. Time and again he sent the war belt to the tribes, summoning them to bloody forays that he himself had planned. His inhuman instigation led to a hundred attacks upon outlying stations and defenceless settlements. The situation in the Ohio Valley at this period may have been in a measure a nondescript one. Between the Ohio river, the Mississippi river and the Great Lakes there were not more than five thousand white and Indian inhabitants in all. It was a bizarre, guerrila warfare scattered over a vast territory — the French more or less openly favored the colonists, the Indians casting their lot with the crown authority. France declared war (1778) against England. Spain also declared (1779) war against England, and seized the English ports of Mobile, Natchez and Baton Rouge, which stations together with St. Louis, gave Spain practically the control of the Mississippi Valley. So the little "tempest in a teapot," initiated in Boston, December 16, 1773, had grown to an international warfare, embracing the three greatest nations and disturbing the peace of two continents. The events transpiring in the Ohio Valley during the Revolution present a history as rich and romantic almost as do the often rehearsed, and more prominent deeds on the Atlantic coast. The thrilling careers of the Girtys, (Simon, James and George), of McKee, Elliott and scores of others, read like the tale of a most imaginative novelist, and include deeds of adventure and daring equal to any annals of history or biography.

The great history of the United States has not yet been written. When it is written, it will be by a Western man, and it will be written with the Valley of the Ohio as the central basis and proper point of view. The struggle for independence was being waged not merely in New England, but also, and mercilessly, in the Northwest and especially on the soil that later was to constitute the Buckeye state. This is a striking and farreaching fact, generally ignored, often from prejudice or ignorance, by the writers who, with the least labor, confine their partial narratives to the events more noticeable and graphic but hardly less potent that transpired in the eastern and southern colonies. The time will come when the warfare in the Ohio Valley, which was an inseparable part of the Revolution will receive full justice at the hands of the historian.* Theodore Roosevelt in his admirable and accurate western history has the correct vision and justly appreciates the richness and perspective value of this field. Virginia, the state which took the leading part in the Revolution, occupied a two-fold position, she was the border state; she touched the contest on the East, even to the sea board, and reached well into the dense and trackless west.

EXPEDITION OF CLARK.

Under her auspices and the leadership of George Rogers Clark, Virginia "broke the back" of the British power on the Western line of the Colonies. Clark saw that so long as the British held the commanding forts, Detroit, Kaskaskia, Vincennes and the connecting stations, so long would England be able to keep up an effectual warfare along the rear of the colonies and render abortive any victories the states might achieve in New England. Clark presented his plan of conquest to Governor Patrick Henry, George Wythe, George Mason and

* It is true that some recent works, such as those by John Fiske, William H. English, Charles Moore, Justin Winsor, B. A. Hinsdale, and others, give more or less detailed accounts of the occurrences in the northwest during the period in question, but even these valuable works fail to sufficiently emphasize the relation of the events described to the American Revolution.

Thomas Jefferson. He would win victories in the west that should compare in importance with the colonial triumphs in the east. Under instructions from Patrick Henry, Clark raised an armament of two hundred volunteers and woodsmen, companies of veritable Rough Riders, and in May, 1778, started on his famous campaign. The history of Clark's expedition for bravery, hardships, hair breadth adventures and escapes, for strategy and warcraft, for generalship, intrepidity, patience and patriotism, is equal to that of any similar effort in all the annals of mixed savage and civilized warfare. Starting at the Falls of the Ohio, he left the river at Fort Massac forty miles above the mouth, and began the march into the interior. He took from the English Kaskaskia and Vincennes and relieved Cahokia and invaded the Indian inhabitated interior. It was the conquest of the territory of the Illinois and the Wabash; it was to the Revolution what Sherman's march to the sea was to the Rebellion. Though Clark did not secure Detroit, his capture of Vincennes and the Illinois posts paralyzed the English attempts to carry on an offensive campaign on the frontier of the United States, and confined their efforts to petty warfare in the shape of Indian raids against the Ohio and Kentucky settlements. To Clark's wise valor and military genius was due more than to any other, the securing of the Northwest to the new republic. He won and held the Illinois and the Wabash in the name of Virginia and of the United States. Had the contest of the western frontiersmen under Clark and other leaders failed, it is more than likely that, though the New England colonies would still have achieved their independence, the territory of the Ohio and Mississippi Valley would have continued subject to British rule, as Canada did north of the Great Lakes. The result of Clark's warfare was of incalculable importance in the course of the American Revolution. Although Detroit remained in British hands the flag of the Republic raised by Clark over the interior of the Northwest was never lowered. No officer in the Revolution accomplished results that were so great or far reaching with as small a force, as did General George Rogers Clark. Clark's first and most famous campaign lasted till August, 1779, when he returned to the Falls of the Ohio. Early in 1780, at the in-

stance of Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, Clark built Fort Jefferson near the mouth of the Ohio. From there he made various invasions into the Ohio interior against the hostile and British paid Indians, driving them from their chief quarters at Old Chillicothe, Piqua and elsewhere.

UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG.

The theatre of events now shifted to the heart of Ohio. While Clark was pushing toward Detroit, with the intention of eventually aiding him from the East or at least destroying the Indian stronghold at Sandusky (now Upper Sandusky) Colonel William Crawford, a personal friend of Washington, and General Lachlin McIntosh, with the approval of Washington, erected in the fall of 1778 two forts, Fort McIntosh, near the present limits of Ohio at Beaver, Pa., and Fort Laurens, on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, in what is now the county of that name. In 1778-9 General McIntosh made an unsuccessful campaign from Fort Pitt into the West and Fort Laurens was abandoned. Ohio was now the hot bed of Indian movements and outbreaks. Numerous invasions were made by the Americans to dispel or destroy them. These more or less illy directed forays were made from Fort Pitt (Pittsburg), the frontier military station and headquarters of the States. By March, 1782, the Revolution was virtually at an end; but the Indian raids in the Ohio Valley continued unabated, Detroit was still an English stronghold, and indeed, so continued till 1796; moreover among the restless frontiersmen at Fort Pitt there was talk and even plottings, of an irruption into Ohio and the formation of an independent state. To put a stop to both these disturbances, an expedition against Sandusky (Wyandot county), in May, 1782, was inaugurated under Colonel William Crawford. With a force of some five hundred men he started from the present site of Steubenville. It was but two months after the cold blooded slaughter of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten under Colonel Williamson, the great blot on American history. At the approach of the Crawford army the various Indian forces were rallied by the British commander at Detroit, the distinguished De Peyster.

Wyandots, Hurons, Pottawotamies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares and Mingoes, were enlisted and united by British bribes and influence. Captain William Caldwell led the allied Indians and the British contingent. That unfortunate expedition, its details and disastrous end is a well known and oft repeated story. Crawford's forces were overcome by superior numbers and obliged to flee. Colonel Crawford himself was captured and brutally burned amid indescribable tortures at the stake. The Indians and their friends, the British, seemed to possess Ohio. Emboldened by their successes the redmen made daring and destructive invasions into Kentucky and committed terrible carnage at Blue Licks. General Clark once more took the warpath, and with a force of one thousand riflemen in November, 1782, struck into the center of Ohio, drove the Indians before him, and destroyed their leading towns on the Miami river, Old Chillicothe, Piqua and other villages. This incursion also played havoc with the British trading establishments, practically driving the British out of the country. With this final brilliant and rapid dash of Clark the Revolution in Ohio should have ended, for while Clark was achieving the last victory, indeed almost on the very day when he struck his last blow against the Indians, the preliminaries of peace between England and America, were being signed at Paris, November 30, 1782.

The war between England and America was indeed terminated; but for the Northwest and particularly Ohio, the peace that had come to the New England States was not to be enjoyed for many long years. The Revolution had but rolled up the curtain on the tragedy that was not to close permanently for Ohio until the treaty of Ghent, December, 1814.

THE WAR CONTINUED IN OHIO.

Ohio had been the scene in turn of the contests between the Indian and French, the French and the English, the English and the American, and now it was to be the arena for a third of a century of the desperate and decisive struggle between the redman and the white — on the frontier of the advancing new American civilization and national life. On the hills and in the val-

leys of the Buckeye state the noble redman took his stand to stay if possible his manifest destiny; to the white man he said: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The poor Indian at every turn of events seemed to have prophetic intimation of his doom. First he opposed the French, the first invaders of his domain, then with the French he disputed the ingress of the English, and then with the English he fought the colonists, and at last, one ally after another having been repelled and driven from the field, the lone Indian must unaided contend for his invaded home.

The result of the American Revolution gave the great Northwest to the United States, but at once opened many conflicting claims between the states as to respective rights to the newly acquired territory. For be it remembered the original states had charters for the land as far west as it might go. The various states were now asked to yield to the new national government these western claims; which the government might sell for the common good and out of which new states might be created. This cession on the part of the various states followed, and the great territory of the Northwest was government domain subject to government disposition.

THE (SECOND) OHIO COMPANY.

While the states were yielding up to the federal government their western claims, and Congress was wrestling with the problems which this newly acquired and vast territory created, important and interesting "doings," as to Ohio, were transpiring both East and West. In the fall of 1785 a detachment of United States troops, under the command of Major John Doughty, built a fort, on the right bank of the Muskingum at its junction with the Ohio. With the exception of Fort Laurens, (1778) it was the first military post erected within the limits of Ohio (to be). The Muskingum fort was called Fort Harmar. The first Ohio Company, consisting mainly of Virginians, organized in 1748, as we have seen, came to naught. Its schemes and efforts were engulfed in the current of events with which it unsuccessfully struggled. But Ohio was to be the Eldorado, the promised

land of the Revolutionary veteran and his descendants. The cause of liberty triumphant, the Revolutionary officers returned home to beat their swords into plowshares and engage in the pursuits of peace. The distinguished engineer and manager, Rufus Putnam, sought his humble Rutland (Mass.) farm house to plan the building, not of fortifications, but of a state—"a new state west of the Ohio." As early as 1783 he and associate officers had applied to Congress for the location and survey of Western lands upon which the weary and impoverished heroes of the war might settle and build new homes for their declining days. The Ohio Company was the outgrowth of this endeavor to secure the bounty lands due and guaranteed for military service in behalf of their country. But Congress needed time to consider and properly act. On March 1, 1786, the Ohio Company was formed at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern, Boston. Rufus Putnam, Manassah Cutler and Samuel Parsons were made directors. Subsequently Winthrop Sargent was chosen secretary. The purpose of the company was to raise funds for buying lands beyond the Ohio, and locating thereon. Many of the foremost men of the nation became members, if not to emigrate, at least to hold stock and share in the success of the undertaking. In one sense it was the inception of a patriotic and national enterprise. In another aspect it was a real estate syndicate. A fund of a million dollars, mainly in continental specie certificates was to be raised for the purchase from the government of lands in Ohio. There were to be a thousand shares of ten dollars each. A vast tract thus secured was to be divided by equitable methods among the share holders. The winter of 1786-7 was spent in perfecting the plans. The negotiations between the company and Congress were tedious and lengthy. Congress was busy with the all important question of a form of government for the Northwest Territory.

ORDINANCE OF 1787.

On July 13, (1787), the great "Ordinance of Freedom," as it is properly called, was passed by the Continental Congress in session in New York. Next to the Federal Con-

stitution, which was adopted September 13, 1787, by the Constitutional Convention assembled at Philadelphia, the Ordinance of 1787 is acknowledged as the greatest of all American legislative acts. Daniel Webster said no one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, had produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than this document.

Through the instrumentality of this ordinance the Northwest Territory was to be opened and developed. But not without great cost of effort and sacrifice, indeed of bloodshed and life itself. The magnificent and fertile Ohio Valley that had been the favorite haunt of the Indian, and which for two hundred years or more he had "put to uses but little superior to those of the buffalo, the bear and the wolf;" that the French adventurer and claimant had used for purposes but little higher than those of the Indian; and that the Englishmen had refused to use at all, was now, says a noted historian, to be devoted to the greatest of human purposes — was now to become the home of a progressive people, excelling in all the arts of civilized life.

Ohio was the first and immediate product of that illustrious legislation. Almost simultaneously with the passage of the ordinance, Congress authorized (July 23) the Board of Treasury to sell the Ohio Company a tract of land lying between the seven ranges and the Scioto, and beginning on the east five miles away from the left bank of the Muskingum. This tract was selected by the advice of Thomas Hutchins, Esq., "geographer of the United States." He considered it "the best part of the whole western country." Thus the establishment of the great Northwest Territory and the settlement of Ohio were events of twin birth. Says Mr. Poole, "the Ordinance of 1787 and the Ohio purchase were parts of one and the same transaction. The purchase would not have been made without the ordinance, and the ordinance could not have been enacted except as an essential condition of the purchase." That is the New England Revolutionary survivors would not buy the land unless a satisfactory government — one that meant freedom, education and religion — was secured, and Congress would not have enacted the ordinance had it not been for the immediate

opportunity of making a large sale of the lands, at the same time assuring their settlement by the staunchest patriots of New England."

OHIO MAYFLOWER.

It was October 27, 1787, however, that the "bargain was clinched" between the company and the national treasury commissioners. The agreement called for one and a half million acres of land at sixty-six and two-thirds cents per acre. The company, however, only came into possession of one million acres or less, as some of the subscribers failed to pay for their certificates, and thus a portion of the land reverted to the government. It was the spring of 1788, when the band of western pilgrims had worked their way across the country from New England homes and had assembled at Sumrill's Ferry, on the Youghiogheny river, some thirty miles above Pittsburgh. At last all was ready, and the quaint little fleet floated down the Ohio. It consisted of the forty-five ton galley, *Adventure*, afterwards re-christened the *Mayflower*, the three ton ferry called the *Adelphia* and three log canoes. After a five days' voyage this famous flotilla, that was to figure so largely in western history, arrived, April 6, 1788, at the mouth of the Muskingum. "No colony in America," said Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there were never men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." There were forty-eight men in the Ohio Mayflower; they were made of similar stuff, if not the same stock as the forty-one men who plowed the deep in the original Mayflower and landed on the bleak New England shore (1620). Both were Pilgrim stock "pithed with hardihood." The voyagers of the latter pilgrimage founded the first colony in Ohio, and called it Marietta. Their new home was picturesquely pitched at the confluence of the Ohio and the Muskingum. Oddly enough in the precincts of their classically laid out town was an imposing mound, the silent and mysterious monument of that elder prehistoric race that roamed the forests or the fields

ere man's records began. Strange contact on this spot, of the people buried in oblivion and the representatives of the New American civilization — the race that is to be. Marietta was at once the seat of government of the newly made Northwest Territory. The first Fourth of July (1788) on Ohio soil, indeed in the Northwest, was celebrated in genuine New England style. Thirteen guns from Fort Harmar ushered in the Republic's natal day, and the same rang through the hills at eventide. A banquet was served in the "bowery" on the banks of the Muskingum and toasts were drank. The menu on that memorable occasion embraced almost exclusively buffalo and bear meat, venison steak and the wild game of the season. Delmonico never did better. Several invited Indians were present, and wonderingly enjoyed the festivities, all, it is said, except the cannonading. The fort guns were unpleasantly suggestive. At dark the fort was illumined, not with electric lights, but tallow dips and bark fires. It was midnight ere the patriotism was extinguished.

ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR.

On the 9th of July the newly appointed territorial governor, Arthur St. Clair, arrived at Fort Harmar. St. Clair was a veteran soldier of both the French and Revolutionary Wars, a trained officer and an accomplished gentleman, a stirling patriot, a personal friend of Washington, and president of Congress when the Ordinance of the Northwest was passed. He was received with all the ceremony and pageantry the infant colony could supply. He was welcomed in the "bowery" by General Putnam, the judges and secretary of the territory, and "prominent citizens" — many had arrived since the first comers. And so the governmental machinery of the great West was officially set in motion. One of the first acts of the governor was to establish Washington county, which was made to include nearly half of the present Ohio. And now the tide of emigration set in. Another land purchase, second only to that of the Ohio Company, was made in 1787 — the Miami purchase of Symmes' tract of one million acres, lying on the north bank of the Ohio between the two Miami rivers. Three colonies were planted in this tract in the

year 1788; Columbia, at the mouth of the Little Miami; Losantiville, opposite the mouth of the Licking river; and North Bend, at the farthest northern sweep of the Ohio west of the Kanawha. For a time each one of these settlements aspired to the leadership but the second, Losantiville, founded December 24, 1788, having been chosen as the seat of a military post, and also as the county seat of Hamilton county, soon outstripped both its competitors. It was renamed by St. Clair, Cincinnati, a name borrowed from the celebrated society of Revolutionary officers of which he was a prominent member. Here lived the Governor, and here sat the first Territorial Legislature.

SCIOTO COMPANY.

A neighboring settlement that deserves more notice than we can give it was the peculiar and rather picturesque colony of Gallipolis. This colony was an unfortunate outcome of the Scioto Company, a sort of side issue of the Ohio Company. This enterprise was instigated by William Duer, secretary of the Government Board of Treasury. He was a schemer that would do credit in his methods to the most advanced "promotor" of to-day's western city "booms." Duer attached his project in a way to the negotiations of the Ohio Company. Besides the actual purchase made by the Ohio Company, Manassah Cutler and Winthrop Sargent personally got from the government "for themselves and associates" an option to further purchase some three million acres adjoining the lands of the Ohio Company. An interest in this "option" was granted to Duer, Tupper, Putnam and others. Joel Barlow was made agent for the enterprise, and sent to Paris to seek customers. As the Scioto Company really had no title, Barlow could only sell the "right of pre-emption." Barlow arrived (June, 1788) in Paris amid the ominous rumblings of the approaching French Revolution. His American lands were exploited and advertised as havens of profit and peace for the distracted and Bourbon burdened Frenchmen. For a year Barlow pushed his project. It was the popular topic of the voluble French capital. Volney, the celebrated French writer of that period, said "Nothing was talked of in every

circle but the paradise that was opened for Frenchmen in the Western wilderness, the free and happy life to be led on the blissful banks of the Scioto." Curious coincidence of history, the denizens of storm-ridden Paris looking to the forest fastnesses of Ohio as a refuge from the horrors in store for them at home. While the infuriated mob was leveling the Bastile, Barlow was disposing of his option titles to deluded patrons and publishing pamphlets in aid of the French Revolution. A French company for American emigration was formed, called "the Company of the Scioto." Some hundreds invested and sailed for their American possessions. They were not constructed for pioneer pursuits. They were artists and artisans, tailors, barbers and laundrymen, indeed, many were "gentlemen of quality," some with titles and the others were skilled in only those occupations that polish the frequenter of the drawing room. Life in a Parisian parlor was different from life in the Ohio woods. The first invoice of these infatuated Gallicans arrived at the site they called Gallipolis Oct. 20, 1790. They were not the Frenchmen of the days of La Salle and Champlain. Their rosy dreams were soon dispelled. They were not the possessors of an Eldorado but the purchasers of a "gold brick." The Ohio Company, or leading members thereof, did the best they could to help the strangers from France who found, instead of a home, a titleless, howling wilderness, made more than desolate by the prowling Indian. The lurid endurances of the Reign of Terror would have been tame compared to their experiences in unbroken forest with wild beasts and savage men. They drifted on west to the French settlements, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Detroit and elsewhere. Some cast their lot with the Ohio Company. Congress, in 1795, granted these defrauded emigrants twenty-four thousand acres in Scioto county.

DIVERSE SETTLEMENTS IN OHIO.

Of the various phases and conditions of the eastern emigration Ohiowards, it is not here pertinent to speak at any length. The Virgina Military District, embracing six thousand five hundred and seventy square miles of the fairest part of Ohio, became the seat of a group of settlements, the families of which

were the Virginia veterans, entitled by service in the Revolution to the homes in this land, for that purpose set aside by the government. General Nathaniel Massie and Governor Duncan McArthur laid out the town of Chillicothe in this district. These Virginia colonies drew to themselves numbers of able

and accomplished men who exercised a marked influence upon the nascent society of Ohio. The Western Reserve was regarded as the next center of early colonization within the limits of Ohio; when with the other states, Connecticut (1786) ceded to the United States her claim to the Western lands, she "reserved" a strip along Lake Erie in the northeastern part of Ohio. It was called New Connecticut or the Western Reserve and included

some four million acres. In 1796 Connecticut sold the Western Reserve (exclusive of the Firelands) to the Connecticut Land Company. General Moses Cleveland was the advance agent of that company. He and his associates landed from New England at the mouth of the Conneaut Creek, July 4, 1796. It was the opening of emigration for New England and the Middle States to northern Ohio. As General R. B. Cowen has concisely noted in a recent address, "In Ohio we had some five centers of original settlement by people of different origin. At one point known as the 'Symmes Purchase,' lying between the Great and the Little Miami Rivers, the pioneers were chiefly from New Jersey, with a dash of Huguenot, Swedish, Holland and English blood. East of it the Virginia Military District, with its center at Chillicothe, the first settlers came principally from Virginia and were of English lineage, with a tincture of Norman and Cavalier. At Marietta, the first settlement in Ohio, the pioneers were from Massachusetts and other New England states. Their fathers were English Protestants who emigrated thither in search of religious freedom. In the century and a half since their migration from Europe they had drawn widely apart from the Virginians and the other colonies and acquired an individualism all their own. On the 'Seven Ranges,' so called, extending from the Ohio River north to the fortieth parallel, being the first of the surveys and sales of public lands in Ohio, the first settlers were of Pennsylvania, some of the Quaker stock introduced by William Penn, others of Dutch, Irish, Scotch and Scotch-Irish. On the Western Reserve they were of Puritan stock, from Connecticut, with center at Cleveland. West of the "Seven Ranges" to the Scioto River and south to the Greenville Treaty line was the United States Military Reservation, where the first settlers were holders of the bounty land warrants for military service and they came from all the states and from beyond the sea."

These series of settlements are barely mentioned to exhibit the diverse but admirable character of Ohio's first citizens in point of time. They were mainly of the "best blood" of the early colonies. The Vanguard of Ohio's pioneers were the heroes who had fought for independence at a sacrifice of property and all worldly prospects, and now sought to found a state worthy their last efforts

and fitting to be the home of their children. Ohio in its founders is peculiarly, almost exclusively the child of the American Revolution. One difference between French and American colonization in the Northwest is strikingly shown by the fact that on April 7, 1788, when Marietta was founded the village of Sault St. Marie was 120 years old. The Latin was a failure as a colonizer. He was not progressive. He was not a seizer of opportunity.

THE ENGLISH AND INDIAN WAR.

These scarred veterans of Bunker Hill, Trenton, Monmouth, Stony Point, Saratoga and a hundred battles of the Revolution, were not yet to enjoy the peace merited by their past honors and patriotic labors. The Northwest Territory, the Ohio Valley, had passed to the United States and had been opened to their people. But the Indians were still in a large measure its occupants and in some degree its possessors. Nor was the last enemy of the American, the British, entirely expelled or even suppressed. The Revolution, though some years since a "closed incident" to the New England states, still dragged its weary length along the frontiers of the great west. It will be recalled that according to some of the articles (IV, V and VI) of the Paris Treaty (1783) it was agreed that the creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted; Congress was to recommend to the state legislatures provision for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties which had been confiscated from the British subjects, etc.; and there was to be no future (after the peace) confiscations of property because of any part individuals had taken in the War. As an indemnity or security on the American part to the Brtish government for these agreements, Great Britain for some thirteen years (1783-1796) retained possession of a large part of our territory or at least continued a dominion over certain sections by uninterrupted occupancy of numerous posts of fortified stations, and this in violation of England's promise "with all convenient speed * * * to withdraw all their armies, garrisons and fleets from the United States and from every post, place and harbor within the

same." These posts to which his Majesty still clung, with British bull dog tenacity, were Michillimakinak, (Mackinac), Detroit, Niagara, Oswego, Oswegatchie, (Ogdenburg), Point au Fer and Dutchman's Point, and Presque Isle, (Erie), and at the mouth of the Sandusky and Miami (Maumee) Rivers. While the pretense of England for holding these posts was the fulfillment on our side of the Treaty, the real causes were desire to retain the advantages these points afforded for British agents to carry on the fur trade and more especially for the purposes of perpetuating from these centers the Indian hostility to the Americans. The British government desired to keep control and influence over the Indians to the end that the trade (fur) be secured and that in case of war with America or Spain, the tomahawk and the scalping knife might once more be called into requisition. Great Britian hoped the league of states would prove a "rope of sand" and would soon dissolve and an opportunity be afforded to bring back the new republic to colonial dependence. The Indians were assured of the friendship and sympathy of their former English allies. They were given to understand that they would be cared for. The Indian with this "moral" support at his back was not long in renewing his protests at the occupation by the American of his beloved Ohio valley. In studying the events of American Western history from now (1783) to the close of the War of 1812 this British background must not be lost to sight. One of the first duties with which Governor St. Clair was charged was the negotiation of a treaty of peace with the Indians. In 1789 at Fort Harmar a treaty was concluded with several tribes located in that vicinity, whereby the Indians relinquished their claims to a large part of Ohio. But only certain tribes entered into this agreement. Many others refused to be bound by it. They demanded that the whites should retire beyond (south and east) of the Ohio. The long Indian War ensued; in which the Redmen had the sympathy, and at times the actual support of the British. The Indians began to feel the pressure of the white settlements in Ohio and elsewhere. They began, more or less at the instigation of the British agents, to commit depredations and destroy property and even lives of the settlers in Ohio.

HARMAR'S EXPEDITION.

General Josiah Harmar, a Revolutionary veteran, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the United States army September 29, 1789, and was at once directed to proceed against the Indians. He centered a force of some fifteen hundred men at Fort Washington (Cincinnati). His army consisted of some three hundred regulars and eleven hundred "militia," which really meant indiscriminate volunteers mostly from Kentucky, aged men and inexperienced boys, many of whom had never fired a gun; "there were guns without locks and barrels without stocks, borne by men who did not know how to oil a lock or fit a flint." With this "outfit" General Harmar proceeded (September 30, 1790), into the heart of the Indian country, around the head waters of the Maumee and the Miami. The Indians, less than two hundred, say the historians, led by the Miami warrior Chief Little Turtle, divided the army, defeated and routed them, Harmar, chagrined and humiliated retreated to Fort Washington after suffering great loss of men. It was a stunning blow for the New Republic, and created dismay and terror among the Ohio settlers. The Indians were highly elated and emboldened to further and more aggressive attacks upon their white enemies. It was now evident to the government that large measures must be taken to establish the authority of the United States among the Indians and protect their Ohio settlements. Washington called Governor St. Clair to Philadelphia, and with the approval of Congress placed him in command of an army to be organized for a new Indian expedition.

ST. CLAIR'S EXPEDITION.

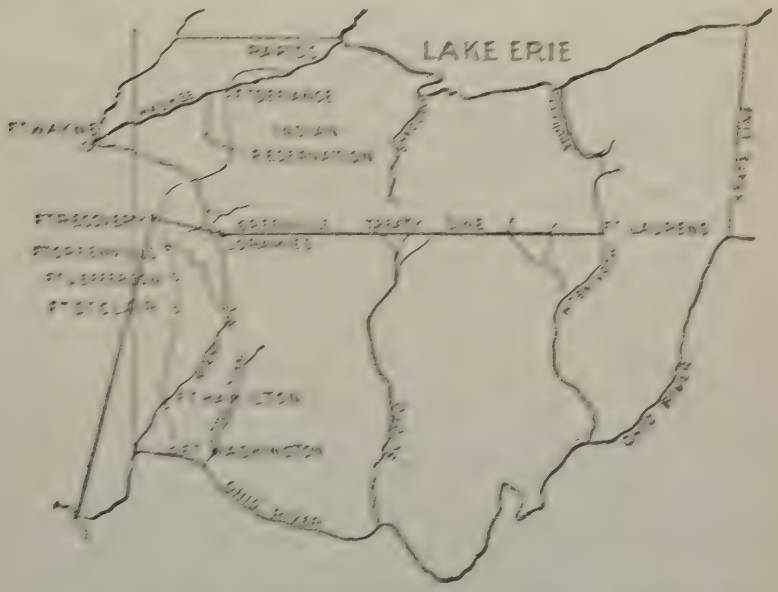
October 4, 1781, General St. Clair, at the head of some three thousand troops, hardly better in quality than those under Harmar, set out from Fort Washington. The plan was to proceed northward along the present western line of the state and establish a line of forts to be properly maintained as permanent points for military operation and protection. Forts Hamilton, St. Clair

and Jefferson, the latter near Greenville, were erected. But when the expedition, now about twenty-five hundred strong, had reached a branch of the Wabash in what is now Mercer county, some thirty miles from Fort Jefferson, it was attacked by an allied force of Indians, fifteen hundred strong under Little Turtle. It was a desperate, irregular combat, the troops were completely demoralized and panic stricken, and indulged in "a most ignominious flight," with the woeful loss of over six hundred killed and two hundred and fifty wounded, a loss equal to that of the American army at Germantown, when General Washington suffered one of the worst defeats and greatest losses of the Revolution. Great public odium rested on St. Clair, and he asked that a committee by Congress be appointed to investigate his conduct in the battle. It was done and the report fully exonerated him. In all the story of Washington's life there is no more human passage than that which narrates how the news of this calamity was received by him on a December day while he was at dinner. It is related that on this occasion the dignified and impassive president gave way to wrath and profanity. The Indian question had now become more serious than ever before, and there was great danger of the disaffection spreading among the Six Nations. The retention of the posts and the complicity of the English agents and garrisons with the Indians, was cause for much parleying between the American government and the English cabinet. The people of New England were becoming restless and impatient over the situation. An unsuccessful campaign always brings trouble and condemnation upon the government. The condition of affairs tested the sagacity and diplomacy of Washington, the wisdom of Congress and the patience and confidence of the people. It was evident that the mutual interests, and indeed, combined efforts of the British and the Indians in Ohio, must be overcome by no indecisive measures, before the Republic could achieve the territorial independence which was thought to be assured by the Paris treaty of 1783. Washington anxiously scanned the list of officers for a reliable successor to St. Clair. The choice finally fell upon Anthony Wayne, the dashing, intrepid hero of Ticonderoga, Germantown, Monmouth and the stormer of Stony Point. The appointment

caused the English some solicitude. They had heard of Wayne. Mr. Liston informed the English Minister to the American government while here that Wayne was "the most active, vigilant and enterprising officer in the American army, but his talents were purely military"—just they were sufficient.

WAYNE'S EXPEDITION.

Wayne arrived at Fort Washington April 1793 and by October had recruited his army and was ready to move. He



cautiously crept his way into the interior as far as Fort Greenville, which he erected, and where he spent the winter and from whence he forwarded a detachment of several hundred to build Fort Recovery, in commemoration of the defeat of St. Clair, at that point. This fortification was attacked by the advancing Indians, one thousand among their paleface general Little Turtle, who made a desperate charge only to be repulsed and compelled to retreat. It was their first serious check. In August, 1794, Wayne with his "Legion," as his army was called,

reached the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee. Here he established another link in the chain of forts, named Defiance. The Indian allies had concentrated about thirty miles down the river at the rapids of the Maumee, near the British fort, Miami, one of the retained posts and recently re-occupied by an English garrison from Detroit, under the direction of John G. Simcoe, lieutenant governor of Canada. Wayne's forces were three thousand in number, by this time well trained, hardened and trusty. The Indians with some three hundred Canadians and English were as numerous. In the hope of avoiding the impending bloody encounter, Wayne offered the enemy proposals of peace. Many chiefs, the warriors and statesmen of their people, were present. Blue Jacket, the Shawnee chief, was for war to the bitter end. His people, he argued, had crushed Braddock, Harmar and St. Clair, and Wayne's turn was next. Little Turtle, the Miami, was for peace. True, he allowed, they had defeated the other generals of the "long knives" and turned back their expeditions, but Wayne was different. He had recently tasted of his valor. Now they would meet foemen worthy their steel. But the British had rallied the Indian courage and bravado; had urged them to confederation and a renewal of their claims for the Ohio country; and had nerved them to unrelenting resistance against the usurping Americans. The British stockades of Fort Miami, like a sheltering shadow, were close at hand, and the Indian cause could not fail. There was no alternative but battle. The field chosen was at the Falls of the Maumee on the wind swept banks, covered with fallen timber. The ground gave the Indians every advantage, as they secreted themselves in the tall grass amid the branches and roots of the upturned trees. Wayne directed his front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, to arouse the crouching Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when they should arise to deliver a close and well pointed fire on their backs, followed by an instant charge before they might load again. The savages were outwitted and overwhelmed. They fled in wild dismay toward the British fort. Wayne's triumph (August 20, 1794,) was complete, the brilliant and dashing victory of Stony Point was won again. Wayne had become the hero of the second Revolution in the Western wilderness,

as he had been the victor of early years in the historic fields of New England. The name of Wayne was ever after a terror to the savages. They called him the "Tornado" and the "Whirlwind." He was mettlesome as the eagle, swift and unerring as the arrow. The Indian warfare was shattered. Moreover, the Indians were crushed and incensed at the perfidy of the British, who not only failed to come to their assistance with troops from Detroit as they had promised, but closed the gates of Fort Miami to them on their panic stricken retreat from Fallen Timbers. At Greenville Wayne was visited by numerous chiefs and warriors to whom he explained that the United States having conquered Great Britain, were entitled to the peaceful possession of the lake posts, and that the new nation was anxious to make terms with the Indians to protect them in the occupation of abundant hunting grounds and to compensate them for the lands needed by the white settlers. The Indians were prepared to negotiate but the British agents, John Graves Simcoe, Alexander McKee and Joseph Brant, stimulated them to continue hostilities; advised the Indians to make pretense of peace so as to throw the Americans off their guard and thus permit another and more successful attack. These Machiavelian British miscreants even advised the Indians to convey by deed their Ohio land to the king of England in trust so as to give the British a pretext for assisting them, and in case the Americans refused to abandon their posts and quit their alleged possessions and go beyond the Ohio on the West and South, the allied British and Indians might make a general attack and drive the Americans across the river boundary.

It will thus be seen that England was still (1794) fighting the Revolution and endeavoring to regain in Ohio what she had lost a dozen years before on the New England coast and the inland western frontier. It is not claimed that the English ministry was a direct and intentional party to these mischievous machinations, but it is certain that Canadian authorities and British agents engaged in them and that the principal—the home government in London—could have known and should have known and was thus really responsible, if not immediately guilty. Indeed the London government did know for the American government made constant complaints. English history is replete with the acts of

treaty violation on her part. The practice did not cease with the period we are dealing with. But the Indians began to realize their critical condition. They had learned at dear cost the power and skill of the Americans and the trickery and treachery of the British.

GREENVILLE TREATY.

The famous Greenville Treaty was entered into in August, 1795, between General Wayne for the United States and the representatives, over eleven hundred in all, and some eleven leading In-

dian tribes. The Indians for certain considerations, payments, annuities, etc., agreed "to cede and relinquish forever all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of a general boundary line" — all of the present Ohio, save the northwest corner comprising about one-fourth of the state, which portion the Indians held as a Reservation till 1818, when the United States bought this land and the Indians then thereon moved westward. Almost contemporaneus with the Greenville Treaty the Jay Treaty between the United States and England was effected, which provided for the evacuation of the British posts in the United States

by June 1796. Thus the Revolution beginning with Dunmore's War in 1774, lasted in Ohio for twenty-two years, till 1796. It continued in Ohio for a period three times as long as in New England. But at last the American Revolution even in Ohio was ended, and a period of peace and prosperous growth was permitted. The settlements in the southern, eastern and northern parts of the state multiplied apace. Rapid strides were made in population and cultivation statewards. From the achievement of national independence by the Treaty of Paris, 1783, to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 the great west so far as it was governed at all was governed by the Continental Congress. When the new Federal government went into operation, March 4, 1789, it became necessary to make such changes in the territorial statutes as would conform them to the new order of things. For the most part these changes were that the territorial officers should hereafter be appointed by the President instead of by Congress. By 1790 the thirteen original states had each in turn ratified the new constitution. Vermont joined the sisterhood in the following year. Kentucky was the first of the western states to be received, with Tennessee next.

OHIO ADMITTED TO THE UNION.

By the Ordinance of 1787 whenever the Northwest Territory should contain five thousand free males, of adult age, the people should be allowed to elect a legislature and enact all necessary laws for the territorial government. The required population having been reached, in pursuance of a call issued by Governor St. Clair, a legislature was elected on December 3, 1798. There were twenty-two members representing the nine counties into which the territory had been divided, viz: Hamilton, Ross, Wayne, Adams, Washington, Jefferson, St. Clair, Randolph and Knox. The first legislative session convened at Cincinnati, September 16, 1799 and elected William Henry Harrison territorial delegate to the National Congress. On account of the wide expanse of country embraced within the Northwest Territory, it was found difficult to administer the affairs of government in its remote parts. To obviate this difficulty the Territory was divided by Congress

in 1800 into the territories of Ohio and Indiana, the latter having its capital at Vincennes. Early in 1802 a census was taken in the eastern (Ohio) division of the territory and it was found to contain forty-five thousand and twenty-eight persons. The Ordinance of 1787 required sixty thousand inhabitants to entitle the district to become a state and yet a petition was made to Congress for a law empowering the inhabitants of that division to call a convention and form a constitution preparatory to the establishment of a state government. On April 30, 1802 an Enabling Act was passed by Congress authorizing the call of a convention to form a state constitution. The election was held, as provided in said Enabling Act, to choose the members of the constitutional convention to meet at Chillicothe on the first Monday of November, 1802. The convention assembled on that date. It was in session until November 29. It agreed upon the form of a state constitution and did not require its submission to the people, as this was not conditioned by the Enabling Act of Congress. When the state convention adopted the constitution for the proposed new state, it also passed a resolution accepting the Enabling Act of April 30, 1802, by Congress with certain other alterations and modifications which it asked Congress to grant. Congress formulated these new concessions into a bill which it passed March 3, 1803, and Ohio became the seventeenth state in the Union on March 1, 1803.

[The date when Ohio actually became a state has been in great dispute, but the better authorities agree upon March 1, 1803. For a full and satisfactory discussion of this question see the article by Rush R. Sloane, "When Did Ohio Become a State," Vol. IX, page 278, Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications—E. O. R.]

THE FIRELANDS GRANT.

BY CLARENCE D. LAYLIN.

[This article is the outgrowth of a paper read before the Political Science Club of Ohio State University. The discussion which followed the reading of the paper among members of that club led to further investigation, the result of which is the article as here produced.—EDITOR.]

In treating of the settlement of new countries, the general and proper method is to recite the history of its pioneer days. Without the efforts of the men who go into the forests and make the first clearings, the development of the country is impossible. But it has often been true that the history of a new land begins, not with the first settlement, but rather with the first step which made that settlement possible. A complete history of any region will include every act which bore upon its inception and growth. So it has been with our nation. The history of Massachusetts begins back in England; and we are taken to Holland before we finally reach the Western Continent, if we wish to trace the history of New England through all its phases. A history of Pennsylvania must include the circumstances under which William Penn obtained his grant of territory. For, if there were no record of that grant, land titles in Pennsylvania would be set at nought. So it is with the opening of the western lands. The "Western Movement" was not all of it in the forests and on the plains of the Mississippi valley. A considerable part of it never got farther than some land office in the East. This part of our early history is seldom given much notice, but it is a part that must be reckoned with in order that every factor contributing to the opening of the new country may have recognition.

Among the regions of the west that were opened up in this manner, there is none that has a more interesting and peculiar history than the Firelands of the Western Reserve. Here, an account of the circumstances leading up to settlement is necessary to the understanding of the first facts of its history, and some of

the features of its present situation. It is a fact more or less widely known that the Firelands occupy, in general, the western extremity of the Western Reserve; it is also well known that they were awarded by the state of Connecticut to the sufferers by fire and otherwise from British raids during the War of the Revolution. But the full circumstances under which the grant was made, and the manner in which it was taken advantage of by the sufferers, together with the surmounting of the difficulties in the way of the use of the land by the grantees are not matters of common knowledge.

It has been implied that in treating this side of a historical subject, it is best to find primary causes first. Therefore, in order to get the proper perspective and starting point from which to trace the history of the Firelands, it is necessary to give an idea of the depredations which gave cause for their origin.

The State of Connecticut was at no time the theatre of the active operations of the War of the Revolution. None of the greater campaigns were carried on within its borders, nor is its soil made sacred by any famous battle. But the war did not terminate without leaving here, as well as elsewhere, evidence of its existence in a trail of death and destruction. From its position of isolation from a military standpoint, the state became a convenient location for arsenals for the rather scanty supplies of the patriots. But inasmuch as the British occupied New York city during the greater part of the war, it was natural that they did not allow these stores to be collected with impunity in a place so easy of access as Connecticut is from that city. Nor were they to be expected to allow the sheltered ports of the north Sound coast to be havens for the privateers which so harried their commerce. It became necessary from their point of view to destroy the supplies which kept accumulating in Connecticut. As for making a conquest of the colony, that was out of the question, because of the intensely patriotic sentiment of the people, and because of its settlement in a number of towns of equal importance, rendering it impossible for a hostile force of moderate size to control the colony from any one strategic point. Consequently, their incursions took the form of raids of destruction and plunder; they struck swiftly, generally by night,

burned and destroyed what they could, and then retired before any considerable force could be gathered against them.

Nine towns suffered from the destroying expeditions of the British. The first of these to be attacked was Danbury. This town was a depot for the military stores of the colonists in the early part of the war. In 1777, Governor Tyron, with two thousand British troops, entered the place and destroyed the supplies, together with nineteen dwelling houses, a meeting house, and twenty-two stores and barns.

In 1779, an expedition of a rather more wanton nature was made. Tyron, with three thousand troops, and a fleet of forty-eight vessels, under command of Admiral Sir George Collier, made a descent upon the coast at New Haven, and in the course of the foray plundered and laid waste the towns of New Haven, Fairfield and Norwalk. Upon this expedition, destruction of property was accompanied by most revolting cruelty. In Fairfield and Norwalk, but few houses were left standing. In New Haven many of the inhabitants were slaughtered, and many more treated with the utmost indignity.

In 1781, a similar descent was made upon New London and Groton, by an expedition composed largely of loyalist troops, and commanded by Benedict Arnold, himself a native of that very region. Arnold seems not to have intended the wholesale destruction which actually did take place, and lays the almost total annihilation of New London, the expedition against which town he personally commanded, to an explosion of gunpowder. But the inevitable result of a raid with even partial destruction for its purpose ensued; the whole commercial portion of the town of New London was destroyed, and many of the dwelling houses, also. Across the river, at Groton, the losses were of a different nature. A hundred and fifty brave spirits of the town occupied the little fort which commanded the place. They were attacked by eight hundred British. Such defense was heroic, but futile. After inflicting great loss upon the British, the few that were left in the fort surrendered, only to be butchered by their enraged conquerors. Eighty-five men were killed and sixty wounded.

Similar raids were made against the towns of Greenwich and Ridgefield. Great suffering naturally resulted from these raids. Many families were rendered destitute and homeless. It was perfectly natural, therefore, for the new State to endeavor to compensate those who had been losers in its behalf. Consequently, the sufferers repeatedly petitioned the assembly for relief. The state for a time afforded limited and inadequate aid by abatement of taxes, but such measures fell far short of compensating the petitioning sufferers for their losses.

Finally, in May, 1787, the memorialists made a special effort. In unusually strong terms, they complained of previous neglect, asserted the justice of their claim, and earnestly urged the attention of the Assembly. This petition was signed by one representative from each of the towns. This memorial attracted the attention of the assembly to such a degree that a special joint committee was appointed, to which the petition was referred. This committee consisted of one member from the upper house, and five from the lower house.

This committee did not report until October, 1787. They then said that for want of exhibits, certificates and vouchers, they were unable to present either a correct statement of the losses sustained by the various towns, or, on the other hand, of the relief already granted to the sufferers by the state. But they recommended that the houses, furniture, etc., destroyed by the enemy ought to be paid for by the state, and at their just value. Furthermore, they stated that, in their opinion, the only means within the power and resources of the state was in the Western Lands.

The report was approved, but no action was taken upon its recommendation, on account of the lack of data upon which as a basis they could make any compensation. The matter was then seemingly lost sight of for a while, and action upon it was postponed from session to session. Meanwhile, the condition of the sufferers did not grow any better.

Finally, in 1790, citizens of Fairfield and Norwalk presented a new petition. Acting upon this, the Assembly appointed a committee of three to compile a full report of the losses of the petitioners, and others who had undergone similar misfortunes, thus

including all the sufferers within the scope of the instructions. This committee entered upon its work immediately. By means of taking sworn statements and vouchers, and with the aid of the petitions that had been presented from time to time, with the sworn statements accompanying them, the committee took a complete census of the sufferers and return of the amount of their losses. This task was a large one, however, and it was not until May, 1792, that the work was so far completed as to enable the Assembly to take action upon its findings.

This report ascertained the number of sufferers to be about one thousand, eight hundred and seventy, distributed as follows: Greenwich, 283 persons; Norwalk, 287; Fairfield, 269; Danbury, 187; New and East Haven, 410; New London, 275; Ridgefield, 65, and Groton, 92 persons. The full list of sufferers, with losses appended, accompanied the report of the committee, and was incorporated in the action finally taken by the assembly. The nomenclature in these lists forms an interesting study by itself. The peculiar characteristics of these names indicate in an interesting manner some of the features of the life of the place and period. In the first place, the final "wood" and "ing" and many other such points give a sure index to the sturdy English ancestry from which the bearers of such family names came. And then, the number of different family names in a list is small, and nearly every family is represented by several, sometimes many heads of houses. Concerning the given names, too, there are a few curious facts. One name seems to run in the family for several generations, for we find many juniors, seconds and thirds, with scarcely any middle names. And then there are of course many of the quaint Old Testament names which characterize the times.

The final loss aggregated £161,548, 11s, 6½d, or $538,445.26. Of this amount, New London lost one-third, Norwalk and Fairfield nearly a third more, and the remainder was divided among the other six towns. The average personal loss was $287.91, the individual losses varying from $8,845.31 to 42c.

The Connecticut Assembly upon the presentation of this report, took immediate action, May, 10, 1792, in the form of the following grant:

"At a general assembly of the State of Connecticut, holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of May, A. D. 1792.

"Upon the memorial of the inhabitants of the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk, showing to this assembly that many of the inhabitants of said towns suffered great losses by the devastations of the enemy during the late war, praying a compensation therefor, and a report of a committee appointed by this assembly at this session held at Hartford, in May, 1791, to ascertain .... the amount of the losses of said memoralists, and others under similar circumstances ..... and also to ascertain the advancements which have been made for sufferers by abatement of taxes or otherwise, and to report the same, with their opinion relative to the ways and means of affording for the relief.....

"*Resolved*, By this assembly, that there be and hereby are released and quit-claimed to the sufferers hereafter named.....five hundred thousand acres of land belonging to this State, lying west of the State of Pennsylvania, and bounding northerly on the shore of Lake Erie, beginning at the West Line of said lands and extending eastward to a line running northerly and southerly parallel to the east line of said tract...., and extending the whole width of such lands, and easterly so far as to make said quantity of five hundred thousand acres.... to be divided to and among the said sufferers, and their legal representatives where they are dead, in proportion to the several sums annexed to their names, as follows in the annexed list."

The grant was thus made, but the use of the land by the grantees was as far away as ever. Many problems had to be solved before the sufferers could obtain the value of the land. In the first place, the land that had been ceded to them lay hundreds of miles to the west, and was original forest, occupied by Indians only. Their title to the land was very much involved and was rather doubtful. When these obstacles should have been removed, an equitable apportionment would have to be made. To

accomplish all these difficult things required some sort of organization. Moreover, the sufferers were scattered through the different towns, and could take no united action.

The Connecticut Assembly solved the problem of organization by a special act incorporating the sufferers into a body corporate and politic. The preamble of this act, enacted in May, 1796, presumably at the suggestion or upon the petition of some of the sufferers, after reciting the circumstances and terms of the grant, says:

> "The proprietors and grantees of said lands, and their assigns reside in different towns, and cannot without great charge meet together to transact business necessary to be done, relative to securing the title to said lands, ascertaining the bounds, preventing encroachments, laying taxes to defray expenses, making arrangements for settlement, or otherwise consulting and adopting measures for their mutual and joint interest."

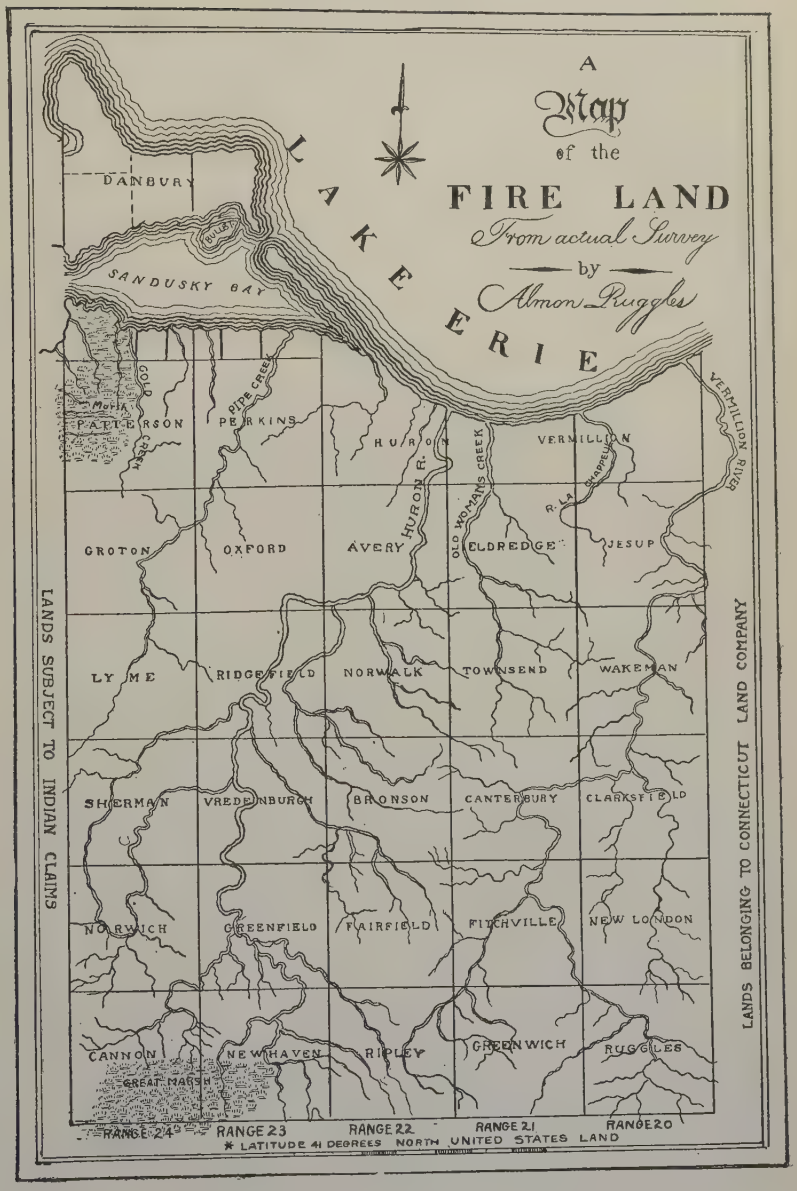
The body of the act, laying down the scheme of organization, follows. The title of the corporation was to be "The Proprietors of the Half-Million Acres of Land Lying South of Lake Erie." The plan of organization was to have its basis in annual meetings of the grantees or their legal representatives in each town. These meetings were to choose Agents, and these agents were to constitute the board of directors of the land company which was thus virtually formed. The representation of each town upon the Board of Agents was to be determined by the aggregate loss of the sufferers of this town. In like manner, suffrage in the local meetings was to be proportioned to the amount of the individual loss. The board of directors was to have an annual meeting, and to hold adjourned meetings, if necessary to the transaction of business of the grantees, which was placed entirely in their hands.

Such were the general features of the organization of this company, for the corporation amounted virtually to a land company. The balance of the act refers mainly to the fees of officers, provides for the laying and collecting of taxes, — for the cor-

poration was a body politic as well as corporate, and arranges details, such as the responsibility of individuals, etc.

Although this measure was enacted in May, 1796, it is improbable that the company did anything more than to keep itself in existence for over seven years. The solution of none of the main problems named in the preamble of the act, which stood in the way of apportionment among the sufferers and occupation by them of the land, was attempted until an act incorporating the sufferers under the laws of the new State of Ohio was passed by the legislature of that state in 1803. In fact, it is probable that little, if anything, was done by the Connecticut corporation; after 1803 the company operated exclusively under the laws of Ohio, and accomplished practically all of the objects of its original incorporation after that year. The reasons for this delay are matters of conjecture. It was probably impracticable to make any efforts under the laws of Connecticut, while it was certain that a new state would be formed containing the territory of the Firelands, and under whose territorial jurisdiction the title of the land would have to be held. At the same time, the original holders of the land, the Indians, were still disputing the title to the same territory. Settlement was impossible without a conflict with the natives. Inasmuch as the State of Connecticut was directly interested in getting these matters of title to the Western Reserve cleared up, as will be later described, it is unlikely that the Firelands proprietors ever had anything to do in an official way with taking the initiative in this matter. It is more likely that they had to wait until the state had settled its part of the matter before the company could proceed. By the time these questions had been disposed of, Ohio had become a state, and the Proprietors incorporated in that state, in order to secure the title to their land. These reasons probably account for the seven years of inaction on the part of the company. During this time, the business transacted by the directors could scarcely have exceeded in importance the collection of taxes of maintenance.

The Proprietors were incorporated in Ohio in May, 1803, by an act of the legislature practically identical with the original act in Connecticut. The few differences which we find arise from the fact that the second act was a renewal, or ratification, made


A
Map
of the
FIRE LAND
From actual Survey
by
Almon Ruggles
LAKE ERIE
DANBURY
SANDUSKY BAY
PIPE CREEK
PERKINS
HURON R.
OLD WOMANS CREEK
VERMILLION
VERMILLION RIVER
PATTERSON
GROTON
OXFORD
AVERY
ELDREDGE
JESUP
LYME
RIDGEFIELD
NORWALK
TOWNSEND
WAKEMAN
SHERMAN
VREDENBURGH
BRONSON
CANTERBURY
CLARKSFIELD
NORWICH
GREENFIELD
FAIRFIELD
FITCHVILLE
NEW LONDON
CANNON
NEW HAVEN
RIPLEY
GREENWICH
RUGGLES
GREAT MARSH
RANGE 24
RANGE 23
RANGE 22
RANGE 21
RANGE 20
* LATITUDE 41 DEGREES NORTH
UNITED STATES LAND
LANDS SUBJECT TO INDIAN CLAIMS
LANDS BELONGING TO CONNECTICUT LAND COMPANY

doubtless under the supervision of the directors of the company. Thus the second act in some matters removed features that were probably superfluous, in others its provisions were made with reference to the state of the company at that time. For instance, instead of merely providing the method of election of directors, the Ohio act names nine persons as the first incumbents, these men probably being in office at that time under the old act. In this manner there was no abrupt change in the affairs of the company. We find that biennial elections of directors were substituted for annual elections by the second act. This was a change made doubtless at the advice of the directors. The second act fixes the representation of each town on the board arbitrarily, while the first act provided that this representation should be proportional to the aggregate loss of the community; this is a difference in form only, however, as the second act gave to each town the number of agents to which it was entitled under the first act.

It was after the Ohio incorporation that the work of the company was taken up in earnest. The land was now more accessible for settlement. The second incorporation gave the acts of the company complete security. The way had been cleared for them in matters in which the State of Connecticut necessarily had to act first. Everything was ready for action. Henceforth the history of the Firelands is a history of the transactions of this company, which proceeded from this time as rapidly as could be expected to a conclusion. With its internal administrative functions we are little concerned; but we are more directly interested in the three distinct objects or operations of the incorporation, stated, among the other reasons for the incorporation, in the preamble of the Connecticut act, and expressly laid down in that of the Ohio act. These three principal problems were: The clearing of the title, the surveys, and the apportionment. It was necessary first of all that the title be cleared, before it was possible to go upon the land for any purpose. Then surveys had to be made, both to determine the extent of the land, and to afford a basis for the apportionment. Then an equitable and just distribution of the land among the sufferers and grantees

in proportion to the value of each claim, was to be the final work of the incorporation. Each of these special lines of work affords an interesting subject for investigation.

By treaty with France in 1763, England's claim to what is now Ohio was definitely established, at least so far as any other European power was concerned. But her sovereigns had, at one time and another, made conflicting grants of charters to various land companies and colonies. Thus, James I granted to the London Company the land extending two hundred miles north of Old Point Comfort, "west and northwest." This grant was made in 1609. In 1620, the same sovereign granted to the Council of Plymouth all the land lying between the fortieth and the forty-eighth parallels, which grant would naturally conflict with the London Company's grant. Charles II in 1662 granted to the Patentees of Connecticut the land from the present boundary of Massachusetts to the sea on the south, to Narragansett Bay on the east, and to the Pacific on the west. Two years later the same monarch granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the land between the Delaware and the St. Croix, without stipulation as to western extent. It will be seen that these grants are very conflicting, and that each of them included the strip since known as the Western Reserve.

At the conclusion of the Revolution, the United States succeeded to the claims of England south of the St. Lawrence. Each state continued the claims it had urged as a colony. Conflicts took place before the Revolution was fairly over. Finally, bloodshed occurred between Pennsylvanians and men from Connecticut claiming land in Pennsylvania under the original Connecticut grant. Foreseeing a condition of chaos and possible disruption at the very outset, if these conflicts continued to occur, Congress, under the Confederation, repeatedly urged the contesting states to cede their claims to the central government. Virginia was the first to comply. In 1784, she ceded all claims north of the Ohio river, with the exception of a reservation for military lands. Massachusetts followed, ceding all claims, this willingness to part with her western lands being due to her possession of what is now the State of Maine. Connecticut, having in mind no scheme of military bounty, was yet loath to part with her western

claims, because of her limitations in the east. Consequently, when she did cede, in May, 1786, the cession began 120 miles west of the Pennsylvania line, thus reserving, by default of mention, the remainder, lying between that longitude and the Pennsylvania line. Her view was that the acceptance of her cession by Congress, without dispute on this point, secured to her a clear title to the part not ceded. In other words, Connecticut believed that Congress had by tacit understanding recognized her title to the Western Reserve.

Now in 1795, the State of Connecticut had sold the remainder of the Western Reserve, outside of the Firelands, to a land company, known as the Connecticut Land Company, in addition to the Firelands grant of 1792. Meanwhile, the United States did not share in the opinion of Connecticut as to the ownership of the Western Reserve. In 1794 General Wayne culminated a war with the Indians of the region by a victory at Fallen Timbers. It was understood that this victory was to be followed by a treaty with the Indians, which should definitely establish the boundary line between the National Lands and those owned by the Indians. The Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, extinguished the Indian title to one-third of Ohio; but the treaty established the boundary which it said should be between the lands of the United States and those of the Indians *through* what is now the Western Reserve. This boundary ran along the Cuyahoga river, the Portage path, and the Tuscarawas; what was to the east, according to the treaty, was United States territory; what was to the west belonged to the Indians. Connecticut claimed land lying on both sides of the line. On the one hand, the Federal government, by paying a remuneration for the land, expressly denied the claim of Connecticut to that land. On the other hand, the state had granted this land out to private corporations, one of which, at least, paid taxes to the state for its title in the land.

In 1796, the Connecticut Land Company started its surveys east of the Cuyahoga, on lands stated by the Treaty of Greenville to belong to the United States. The surveys were speedily completed, and sales of land and settlement at once began. The conflict was thus brought to a head. The claims of each party to the dispute were twofold in nature. They embraced not only

the fee of the land, but also the right of jurisdiction within the boundaries of the land. Congress, wishing to forestall any possible trouble, offered to compromise by allowing Connecticut to keep the fee of the land, thus rendering the titles of the grantees of the state secure, keeping for the central government the right of jurisdiction over the territory in question. This offer was made April 28, 1800. The state legislature accepted May 30, and executed a deed of cession of judicial rights accordingly.

This cleared the title of that part of the Western Reserve lying east of the Cuyahoga and the Portage path. But the remainder, to the west, was still doubtful as to title. The State of Connecticut had granted it out between two companies, but the Treaty of Greenville stated that the ownership of the land was with the Indians. It now devolved upon the Firelands Proprietors to take action to clear this title. Heretofore, it had been the State of Connecticut which had been acting in this regard. Now whatever steps were to be taken must be taken by the company. Immediately after the Ohio incorporation, measures were taken to bring the matter to a conclusion.

The proprietors first contracted, in company with the Connecticut Land Company, with one William Dean, a man familiar with the customs of the Indians, to manage the extinguishment of their title. The next step was the application to the President to appoint a commissioner to negotiate a treaty to be arranged for by Dean, between the United States and the Indians. The President complied, appointing Charles Jewett. Under Dean's guidance, Jewett, accompanied by Isaac Mills for the Firelands Proprietors, and Henry Champion, for the Connecticut Land Company, proceeded to Ft. Industry, on the Maumee river, and there drew up a treaty with the Indians, extinguishing the Indian title to the entire Western Reserve. Jewett represented merely the treaty-making power. Four parties signed the treaty, the representative of the government, the representatives of the two land companies, and the Indian chiefs. The treaty stipulated that the remuneration, $18,916.67, should be paid jointly by the two companies. This operation cost the Firelands Proprietors $6,000, which sum included the commission of Dean for performing his work. This sum was provided for by the regular taxation

methods. The treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States, January 25, 1806. Thus, finally, after years of conflict and dispute of a legal nature, and three years after the admittance of Ohio into the Union, the title of the Firelands was clear, and the first portion of the work of the corporation was accomplished.

Having gained a clear title to the territory, the next undertaking was the survey of the land. Taylor Sherman and Guy Richards were appointed a committee to effect by contract the survey of the lands, and to settle any dispute with the Connecticut Land Company. The result of their labors was a contract between the two companies on the one hand, and John McLean and James Clark on the other. These men were to run the western boundary of the Reserve, starting from a point on the forty-first parallel, to be determined by the United States through its engineer. They were then to take a traverse of the Lake shore, with a view to the location of the eastern line of the Firelands, so as to make the amount of land five hundred thousand acres, as per the original grant. This contract was made December 16, 1805. Maxfield Ludlow, the United States engineer, fixed the southwestern corner point, and a company of twelve surveyors commenced the work laid down in the contract. The government, however, rejected this survey, on account of an error in Ludlow's calculations, which resulted in placing the corner point about a mile too far west, thus including too much land in the Reserve. This error had occurred in the connection with the previous surveys that had been made east of the Cuyahoga, before the Treaty of Ft. Industry.

On the 19th of August, 1807, a new contract was drawn up with Almon Ruggles, a member of the first party. Ruggles was to make an entirely new survey. He was to ascertain the correct southwestern point, place the eastern line, and run the land off into townships five miles square, four sections to a township. With respect to the irregular townships bordering on the lake, he was instructed so to shape and divide them as to make them approximately equal to each other and to the remaining townships. Ruggles completed the work in a satisfactory manner, and his surveys are the basis of the present boundaries of the Firelands.

There are some interesting features connected with this sur-

vey. The error in the first survey had, as we have seen, caused the corner stake to be placed almost a mile too far west. The new stake came in the then almost impenetrable swamp which still remains in the southwestern corner of Huron county. The minutes of Ruggles' survey as he approached this point read as follows: "117th mile west. We are in danger of our lives." "118th mile west. Sat a post in Hell. I've traveled the woods for seven years, but never saw so hideous a place as this." This was two miles from the corner post. Another feature of the survey is evident from a glance at the map. The specifications for the running of the western line were that it should be north and south, parallel to the state line. These were also the terms of the Treaty of Fort Industry. As a matter of fact, there is an angular divergence 4° 40′ to the west, and Ruggles' field-book states that the line was so run, but gives no reason for it. The eastern line is parallel to the western, and thus the townships are not exactly square, as are those in the eastern portion of the Western Reserve. This could not have been an oversight, and it seems probable that there was an intention to cheat. There is a tradition, handed down among official circles, but nowhere in print, that this divergence was made in order to contain within the limits of the Firelands the famous Castalia Springs, known far and wide among the Indians, which it was feared the second survey would exclude. Of course there is no possible substantiation for this theory.

Upon the conclusion of the surveys, the next problem was that of apportionment of the lands among the sufferers, or those holding their claims by inheritance or purchase. This was the objective point toward which the company had been working, and the main purpose for which it was incorporated. The holders of claims had changed, both in number and in character. Persons of a speculative nature had bought up the claims of the original grantees, many of which had been sold for non-payment of taxes or dues to the company. These speculators, however, seem to have been recruited from among the ranks of the sufferers themselves, or at least from the neighborhood.

On the thirtieth of September, 1808, a committee of four

directors was appointed to adopt a method of exact partition. Their report formed the plan of apportionment adopted by the agents on November 8th. The scheme was as follows: The surveys had divided the land as accurately as possible into thirty equal townships, each containing four sections. The total loss was £161,548, 11s, 6½d. The value of each section was therefore fixed at about one one-hundred-and-twentieth of this aggregate loss, or £1,344, 7s. Each proprietor was to receive as much land in proportion to the area of the section as the amount of his claim bore relation to the total valuation of the section. The distribution of land was made by lot. Everything was based upon the list of sufferers annexed to the original grant. Inasmuch as the personnel of the claimholders had changed radically since the first grant, made twelve years prior to the time of this apportionment, there were two lists. The first list contained the names of the original grantees, and formed the basis of the apportionment; the second list, headed "Classified by", contained the names of those who held these original claims by purchase or inheritance at the time of the allotment. There were no large individual holdings, but often one man or group of men had enough land to give them the preponderance in a township. Hence, we find, among the names of the Firelands townships, together with those of the old Connecticut towns, as, Norwalk, New London, etc., titles derived from the names of prominent landholders or directors. Because of the method of distribution by lot, a man holding several separate claims might have his land scattered in different sections of a township.

With the accomplishment of the apportionment of the land, the work of the company came to an end. It only remained for the directors to finish a few detailed matters in regard to the location of highways, a work that had been begun as soon as the surveys had been completed. Upon the completion of its external labors, and the final settlement of its internal affairs, the board of directors of the incorporated proprietors of the Sufferers' Land finished its deliberations by asking that its minutes and papers as an incorporation of the State of Ohio be preserved among the records of Huron County. The board then adjourned without day. The Firelands were ready for the Pioneers.

ADENA MOUND.

EXCAVATIONS OF THE ADENA MOUND.

BY WILLIAM C. MILLS, B. SC.

(*Curator Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.*)

The Adena mound, so named by Governor Worthington, and owned by his estate until a few years ago, was thoroughly examined by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society under the direction of its curator during the summer of 1901. The mound is located 1½ miles from the northwestern part of the city of Chillicothe, in the valley of the Scioto River. Standing upon the summit of this mound one could see, looking directly to the north, the noted Mound City so named by Squier and Davis, and examined by them in 1846; looking to the south the Chillicothe group of mounds could be seen, which were examined by Fowke, Moorehead and others; directly to the east could be seen the Scioto River, and to the west is the large hill upon which is located the mansion called Adena, which was the home of Governor Worthington. Near the mound, and at the foot of this hill, is Lake Ellensmere, which played a very important part in the construction of this mound. In 1798, when Governor Worthington came to Ohio, he purchased the land upon which this mound was located, and it has since been owned by the heirs until a few years ago, when it was sold to Mr. Joseph Froehlich, consequently the mound had been preserved for more than 100 years. In the course of time the present owner found that it was quite an expense to keep this mound in a good condition, and as it occupied a large tract of fine alluvial bottom land, which was valuable for agricultural purposes, he decided upon its complete removal. On the 21st of June a contract was entered into with Mr. Froehlich to remove this mound, the greater part of the soil of which it was composed to be placed in a cut made by the B. & O. Railroad, which is perhaps fifty yards away. The mound, at the time work began, was 26 feet high measuring from the south side, 26 feet 9 inches measuring from the north side, with a cir-

cumference of 445 feet. The north side of the mound was covered with an undergrowth of small trees and briars, making it almost impossible of ascent, while on the south side the mound was not so densely covered and a path was easily made to the top of the mound, where the work began. Until last year the mound was covered with a growth of trees each ranging in diameter from 6 to 18 inches, but these had been cut down and taken away by Mr. Froehlich, preliminary to the removal of the mound.

The outer surface of the mound was covered with a leaf mould from 3 to 7 inches in thickness. As work progressed upon the mound it was discovered that it had been built at two different periods. The first period represented the original mound which

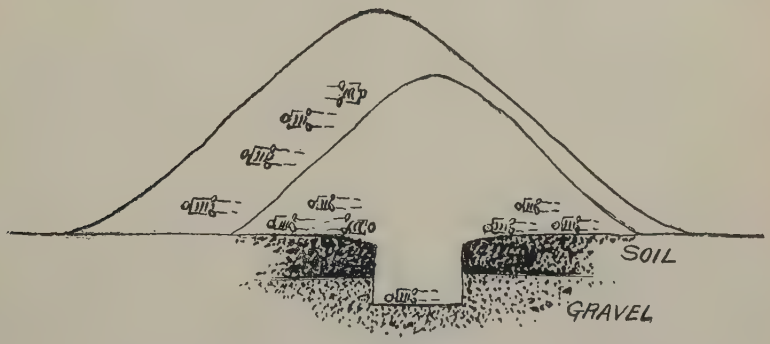


FIGURE 1.

was 20 feet high with a base diameter of 90 feet being composed almost entirely of dark sand, which was no doubt taken from the small lake near by, known as Lake Ellensmere. The second period shows the enlargement of the original mound on all sides. On the south side the mound was only covered with a few feet of soil, while on the north side the base was extended more than 50 feet; this enlargement was carried up the side of the mound changing the apex between 12 and 15 feet. This is shown in Fig. 1. The soil of the second period differed very much from that of the first; while the first was composed almost entirely of sand and was of a dark color; the second part of the mound was composed of sand of a lighter color mixed with the soil of the

surrounding surface. In some places the sand was entirely absent, while in others but very little soil was mixed with it.

The mode of burial in the first period was far different from that in the second. In the original mound no burials were found until within five feet of the base line. The body at the time of its interment was enveloped in bark or a coarse woven fabric and then enclosed in a rude sepulcher made of timbers, ranging in diameter from 3 to 17 inches. The sepulchers varied greatly in size; those above the base line were made by placing large logs on each side of the body with a covering of small logs placed over the top. The sepulchers placed on the base line were usually made of a framework of timber, which had long since decayed away but the cast of which was still retained in the hard sand; this enclosure of timber, measured from outside to outside, was usually from 8 to 9 feet in length and from 5 to 7 feet wide and from 18 inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. They were constructed from unhewn logs lain one upon another, and were then covered over the top with logs that were smaller than those at the sides and ends. After a period of time these logs would decay, and the superincumbent earth would drop into the grave; with the sides and ends supported and no support in the center this would naturally form an archway of earth, which was clearly defined at the time the mound was opened. In a number of instances the loose earth was removed from the sepulchers disclosing large rooms, some of which were 10 feet long and seven feet wide, with an arched roof, being high enough for a man to stand upright in them. In the second period the burials were much different, no sepulchers were prepared for the dead and not one of the skeletons was covered with bark, and only one showed any trace of a woven fabric, this being preserved around a copper bracelet.

The skeletons in the first period were much better preserved than those in the second; this was caused by the protection afforded the body, at the time of burial, by the sepulcher.

In the outer mound skeletons were found from the top to almost the bottom, while in the original mound the skeletons were all found within five feet of the base line and below this line. However the implements and ornaments found in both sec-

tions of the mound were similar in every respect, but were more abundant in the first period than in the second. In the first period implements and ornaments were found with all the sepulcher burials, with but one exception, which will be noted later. In the second period quite a number of skeletons were found that had no implements or ornaments of any kind placed with them.

The mound was removed in five-foot sections commencing at the top. In the first section, which includes the apex of the mound, we expected to find intrusive burials, but in this we were disappointed. The earth was carted to the north side of the mound in wheel barrows and thrown down its sides. In the second cut a winding road was made up the side of the mound, so that teams could remove the dirt, which was done by the use of wheel scrapers. The soil was loosened with picks, and the earth carefully examined, it was then shoveled back so wheel scrapers could carry the dirt away. Whenever a grave was discovered competent men were placed at work to remove the dirt from around it with small hand trowels. All the skeletons were photographed in place with the implements and ornaments found with them. All changes in the structure of the mound were also photographed. A total of 33 skeletons was removed from the mound, 21 occurring in the first period, or the original mound, and 12 in the second period.

The first five feet of the apex of the mound was composed of soil taken from the surface surrounding the mound. The soil was first loosened by picks and then loaded upon wheelbarrows and carted to the north edge of the mound where it was thrown down the side. This section was carefully examined for intrusive burials but none were found. Five feet from the edge, and almost on the base line of the cut, was found a chipped hoe, 5 inches in length and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width, which had evidently been lost by the builders of the mound, as nothing was found near it to indicate that it had been placed there intentionally. Near the center of this section was found a small quantity of charcoal scattered through the soil which had evidently been intermingled with the earth at the time of its deposit there. A little past the center to the south side was again found small particles of char-

coal, in this case a little pocket of ashes accompanied the charcoal, and it looked very much as though a small basket of earth, charcoal and ashes had been deposited together. East of the center of the mound, and near the base line of this cut, was found a very large pitted sandstone, pits occurring on both sides. The stone was 8 inches long, 6 inches wide and 5 inches thick. This sandstone was no doubt procured from the hillside near by, as ledges of this rock are exposed in several places. See Fig. 2 which shows first cut of 5 feet.

FIGURE 2.

The second cut of five feet which was commenced at the north side and carried through directly to the south, was far more interesting than the first cut. This cut was composed almost entirely of earth and sand taken from the surrounding surface, with the exception of the center, which was composed of a compact dark colored sand, and so hard that it was necessary to pick it down before it could be removed. Fig. 3 shows a photograph of the dome-shaped sand which proved to be the top of the original mound.

Near the center of this sand portion were found two fragments of human bones consisting of one small piece of the right

femur and one small piece of the left humerus. A little past the center of this sand portion was found a pocket of ashes and char-

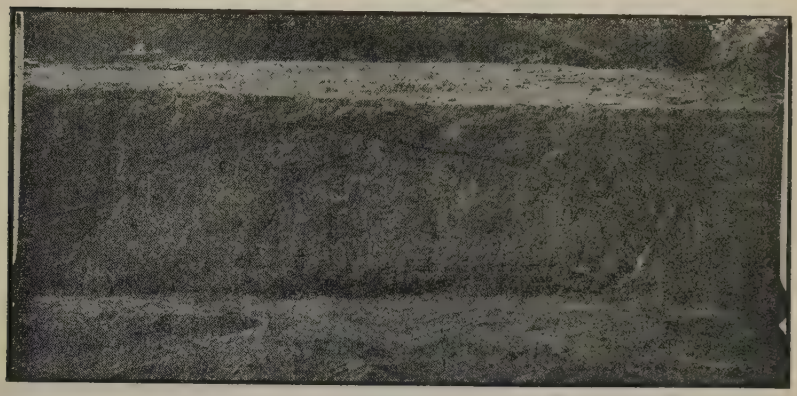


FIGURE 3.

FIGURE 4.

coal; in these ashes parts of the meta carpal bone of the deer and part of the humerus of the wild turkey were found. Just outside of this sand center to the east, and about four feet from the top of the five-foot cut, was found the skeleton of an adult, upon the right arm of which two copper bracelets were found. These bracelets were made from a rounded piece of copper tapering to almost a point at each end, the ends overlapping each other when bent around the wrist. Around the bracelet was a quantity of well preserved woven cloth.

Figure 4.—Upon a finger of the left hand were found two copper rings, and these were also made of hammered copper, formed into a light copper wire, this wire was then bent twice around the finger and formed what is known as the spiral ring. Figure 5.—

FIGURE 5.

The skeleton was very much decomposed and but very few of the bones could be saved. Around one of the bracelets was found a quantity of woven cloth; this cloth was very nicely preserved, showing the texture, etc. Figure 6.—Five feet to the east of this first skeleton was discovered the skeleton of an adolesent, upon the wrist of which were found two beautiful copper bracelets, similar in every respect to those found upon the first skeleton, and having upon the head a head-dress made of large strips of mica cut into shape and pierced with holes for attachment. Figure 7.—Near the head of this skeleton was found a broken earthen jar which was carefully removed. Near this jar was unearthed a large square block of sandstone with cup-shaped depressions on one side. Figure 8 shows the second cut and the dome of the original mound.

FIGURE 6.

FIGURE 7.

The third cut of five feet brought to light one skeleton. This was found near the east side, 12 feet from the edge of the mound and only one foot below the bottom of the second cut. No implements or ornaments of any sort were placed with this skeleton.

It was in a bad state of preservation and only small portions of it could be removed. Near the center of this section were a number of deer bones which had evidently been carried there with the

FIGURE 8.

sand. A number of shell hoes made of the fresh water mussel (Unio plicatus), were scattered through the central portion of the mound. These shell hoes were made by cutting a hole through the shell for attachment. Figure 9.—

FIGURE 9.

The fourth cut of five feet was very interesting. Five skeletons were removed from this section. Fifteen feet from the north side, and almost upon the base line, two skeletons were found lying side by side; both were adults, the one being a male and the other a female. No implements or ornaments were placed with these skeletons but both were in a very bad state of decay,

but the arm and leg bones were removed in a very good condition. A little farther in from the north edge was found another skeleton, upon the wrist of which were two copper bracelets; these were quite small, in fact they had been hammered down so that the wire of which they were made was less than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter; they were bent around the wrist, the ends overlapping each other, very similar to those found in the second cut; no other implements or ornaments were found with this skeleton. On the east side, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the base of this cut, was found the skeleton of an adult; it was lying at full length, head to the north; around the loins there was a coarsely woven cloth, but very little of this cloth was saved owing to the advanced stage of decomposition. No implements or ornaments of any sort were found with this skeleton. Not far from the south side of this cut was found the fifth skeleton; this was very near the edge of the mound and might have been an intrusive or secondary burial. The skeleton was in a fair state of preservation, and the skull and bones were carefully removed. No implements or ornaments of any kind were found with this skeleton.

The mound had now been removed to within six feet of the base. Heretofore we had commenced each five-foot cut upon the north side of the mound; this was done to aid the teamsters in removing the earth to the railroad cut. Of the last six feet only two were removed, leaving the mound about four feet high when the work was finished. The object was twofold; first, the expense of removal of the last four feet; second, the owner wished to have left a part of the mound to show at least where it stood; yet all of the dirt comprising the last six feet was carefully examined.

The work of examining the last cut was begun on the east side of the mound. Commencing at the very edge and following the base line it was soon discovered that this line gradually dropped toward the center, showing that the earth had been removed forming a hollow basin, in the center of which was dug a large grave, 13 feet 9 inches long, 11 feet 4 inches wide, and 6 feet 9 inches deep, digging more than three feet into the gravel below, showing that this was the beginning of this great mound. The first skeleton found in this cut was that of an adult, found

within the original mound. This skeleton was placed in a sepulcher made of logs; further examination of this sepulcher disclosed the fact that it contained another burial, the two burials being parallel, but the skeletons being in reversed positions; both were covered with bark, but no traces of cloth were dis-

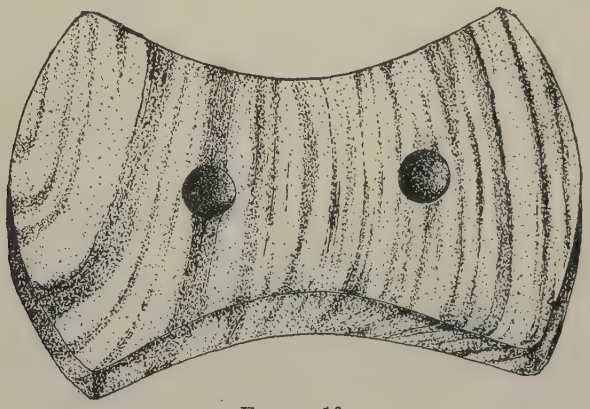


FIGURE 10.

cernable. These skeletons were the largest so far found, the first one measuring 5 feet 11 inches, the second 5 feet $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. On the right wrist of skeleton number one was found a slate gorget. Figure 10.—Directly between the two skeletons was found a tube pipe. Figure 11.—The pipe is made of clay, presum-

FIGURE 11.

ably fire clay. The whole is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, tapering to a point where it is only $\frac{1}{8}$ inch. The pipe is 4 inches in length and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter. This sepulcher was constructed of unhewn timbers varying in length from 8 to 9 feet, and in diameter from 6 to 12 inches, although in several graves very much larger

logs were found. These timbers were laid one upon another to a height of 2½ feet, other timbers were then laid over the top and the dirt piled over all; in time these timbers rotted away and the superincumbent earth above would drop into the grave, and as the sides and ends were supported, naturally the center of the grave would drop in first; this finally formed an archway of

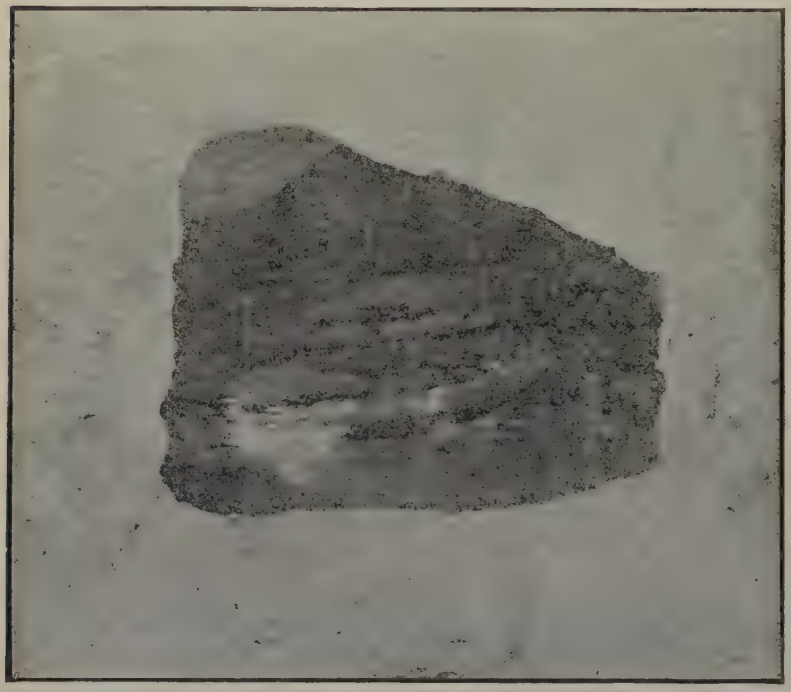


FIGURE 12.

earth above. Figure 12. The cast of one of the timbers forming the rude sepulcher is shown in Figure 13. Skeleton number three was found on the north side of the cut, near the base line. It was very much decomposed. The only ornament found with this skeleton was a bracelet made of bone beads. The skeleton was that of an adult male.

Skeleton number four was only a few feet from number three, but had a sepulcher made for it; some of the logs which

composed this sepulcher were 10 inches in diameter. The body had evidently been previously buried in some other place and later transferred to this mound, as the skull was placed in the center of the grave with the foramen magnum turned upward,

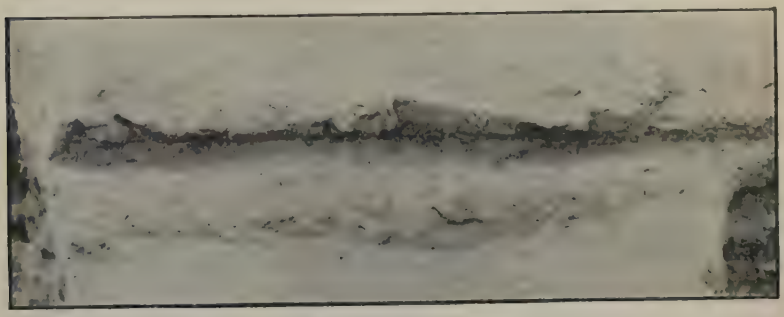


FIGURE 13.

and surrounding it were bones of the leg, arm, and vertebrae. At one end were the cervical vertebrae and bones of the hand and foot; at the other end were the ribs and bones of the arm and lower legs. Throughout the mass upward of 200 beads made of

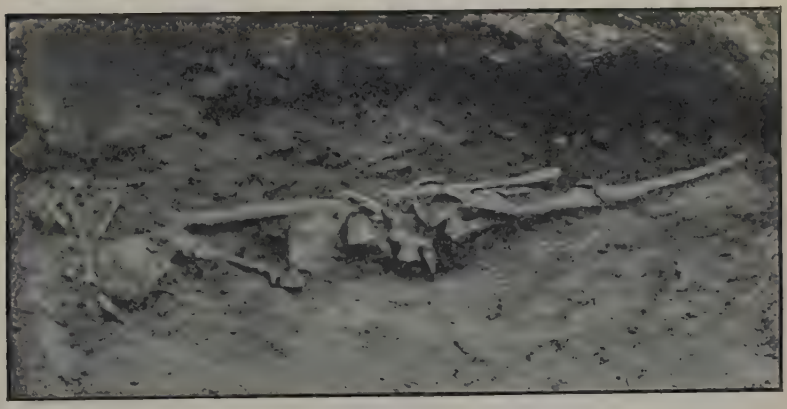


FIGURE 14.

bone and shell were found. The covering over the top of this burial consisted of three layers of bark the outside layer being very heavy something like oak bark; the next layer was of a thinner bark something like the elm, the inside layer being a very

thin bark very much like the wild cherry or birch. Figure 14 shows a photograph of this skeleton as it was uncovered in the mound.

FIGURE 15.

Skeleton number five was found on the south side of the mound lying at full length, head to the east and 4½ feet from the base of the mound. This skeleton was 5 feet 8½ inches in length, and was that of an adult male. Near the head was a spearhead

FIGURE 16.

of chalcedony 4 inches in length; this spear is shown in Figure 15. Two very large flat bracelets, made of copper, were found on the right arm; these were partly covered with cloth which was very nicely preserved by the carbonate of copper. Figure 16

shows the copper bracelets. About three feet nearer the center of the mound, and on the same level with number five, was exhumed skeleton number six, which was 5 feet 7½ inches in length, and was that of an adult female. On the right arm were found two bracelets made of copper; these bracelets encircled a boat-shaped ornament pierced with two holes; through these holes were strings which had been preserved by the action of the copper; these strings showed, too, that the gorget had been attached either to the arm or to a woven fabric that was found associated with the bracelets. This boat-shaped gorget is 5¾ inches in length and made of limestone; see Figure 17, which shows the position in which the gorget and bracelets were found. Skeleton number

FIGURE 17.

seven was found not far from number six, but nearer to the center of the mound; it was that of an adult. The skeleton was placed about 4½ feet from the base of the mound. No ornaments of any sort had been buried with it and it was without even having a covering of bark. The skeleton was in a very bad state of preservation, and only a very small portion of it could be removed.

Skeleton number eight was that of a child about six years of age. The skeleton was placed in a sepulcher made of unhewn logs, and was 8 feet 9 inches in length, 5 feet 8 inches in width and 2 feet 9 inches high, and was placed on the base of the mound. The bottom of the sepulcher was covered with a bed of fine gravel firmly packed. This gravel, at the south end of the sepulcher, was three inches thick and at the north end 2 inches; over the

top of this gravel was placed a layer of bark; this bark seemed to completely cover the bottom of the grave. The body of the child had evidently been wrapped in cloth from head to foot; over this cloth was also a wrapping of birch bark, and then came long strips of wood which were about one-half inch thick and 2 inches wide; these were placed entirely around the skeleton, and over all was another covering of bark which looked very much like the inner bark of the bass wood. Around the neck of the little child two strings of beads were found. The first string consisted of about fifty beads made of bone and shell from one-fourth to one-half inch in diameter; the other string was very much larger, and contained about 150 beads made of both shell and bone. The cloth found around the skeleton was of two kinds; the greater part consisted of a coarsely woven mat resembling very much the burlap of our present time; the other, which was

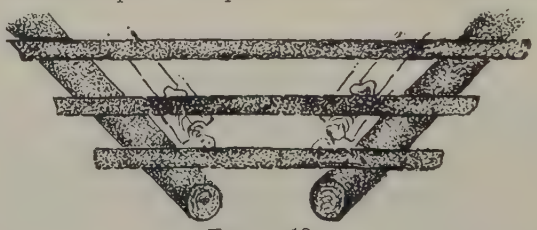


FIGURE 18.

placed around the loins, was made of stronger and heavier material and was not so closely woven.

Skeletons number nine and ten were found on the south side of the mound and were placed together in a sepulcher made of logs which differed somewhat from the other sepulchers so far discovered; see Figure 18. The sides of this sepulcher were composed of large logs 15 and 16 inches respectively in diameter. These logs were placed near together at the head and extended at an angle of 35° as shown in the drawing. The logs placed over the top as a protection to the body when placed in the grave were quite large, none of them being less than 6 inches in diameter, and the largest one 12 inches. The skeletons were those of adults, both being males, and were in a good state of preservation; around the neck of one six beads were found; these were about one-half inch in diameter and made of bone finely polished.

No implements or other ornaments were placed in the sepulcher. Skeleton number eleven was that of an adult male also placed in a sepulcher made of logs, and was 8 feet long 4 feet wide and 18 inches high; the skeleton was 5 feet 7 inches in length. Around the neck was a necklace made of bone beads.

Directly beneath this sepulcher and on the base line of the mound was a great fireplace, the ashes being 14 inches in thickness; this was very near to the grave which was found in the center of the mound. In these ashes was found a great quantity of burned mussel shells, also the bones of various animals; these were all calcined by the heat but enough was left to identify them; those removed from the ashes were the wild turkey, trumpeter swan, Virginia deer, black bear and raccoon; not a particle of charcoal was found in this fireplace, showing that the fire had burned entirely out before it was covered up. This fireplace on the east side of the large central grave corresponded to one found later on the west side of the grave.

Skeleton number twelve was that of an adult male, placed in a large sepulcher made of logs. This sepulcher was 12 feet long, 7 feet wide and 2½ feet high; the largest logs were placed at the bottom and measured 10½ inches in diameter. In speaking of the logs which composed the sepulchers of this mound it will be understood that nothing is left of the logs but the molds. The bottom of this sepulcher was covered with bark which consisted of several layers. The skeleton was perfectly wrapped in bark, the outside being of a coarse quality and resembling very much the bark which covered the bottom of this sepulcher; the next two layers were evidently birch bark. Around the neck of the skeleton was a great quantity of beads made from small ocean shells; around the wrist were also a number of beads, but these were made in the shape of small disks one-fourth inch in diameter, and were made of the leg bones of the deer and elk. This sepulcher was placed on the base line.

Skeleton number thirteen was that of an adult and was placed about 2½ feet above the base line, and very near the sepulcher which was occupied by number twelve. The log molds of the sepulcher showed that only small pieces of wood were used in its construction. No implements or ornaments were placed with this

skeleton. About two feet from the head of this skeleton was found a shell hoe, very much worn and which no doubt had been lost. Further excavations on the base line of the south side of the mound disclosed skeleton number fourteen, which was 5 feet 8 inches in length and badly decomposed. At the head were placed three large stone slabs and at the foot four, and connecting the tops of the slabs were large logs ranging in diameter from 3 to 9 inches. On the right arm of the skeleton were placed four copper bracelets made of heavy copper, several of which were almost one-half inch in diameter; some of these were covered with cloth. On the left arm were also four copper bracelets, identical in every particular with the ones found on the right arm. Around the head was a string of beads made in the form

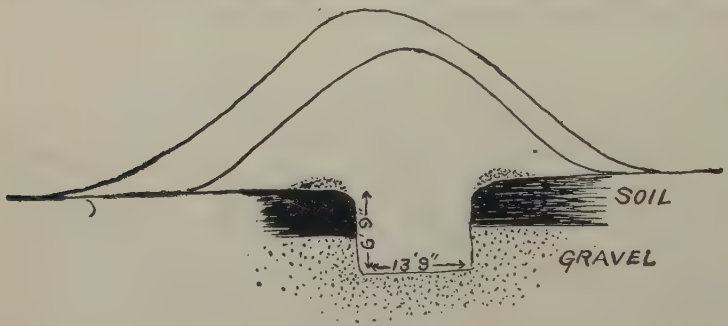


FIGURE 19.

of disks, averaging one-half inch in diameter; these numbered upward of 200. Around the loins was also a string of beads of the same kind; at the feet were some broken pieces of diorite, several of which showed that they had been used while others showed that they were in the process of manufacture of some implement. Approaching the center of the mound it was discovered that a grave was located below the base line, by the appearance of gravel which had evidently been thrown out of the center grave on all sides; see Figure 19. This center grave was quite large, being 13 feet 9 inches long, 11 feet 4 inchs wide, 6 feet 9 inches deep, measuring from the base line; this is also shown in Figure 19. The bottom of the grave was covered with a layer of bark which extended up the sides of the grave and over the surrounding surface for ten feet on all sides. Upon

this layer of bark, at the bottom of the grave, was the skeleton of an adult male 5 feet 9½ inches in length, with head to the south. The skeleton had been wrapped in three distinct layers of bark, and was in a fair state of preservation; the skull was badly crushed and several of the arm bones were broken; the tibia and fibula of both legs were painted red; evidently the flesh had been removed from the bones, the paint then placed around them and the whole then covered with a plaster made of mud. Around

FIGURE 20.

the feet and loins was found the remnant of a woven fabric similar to the fabrics already described. Near the feet were nine large leaf-shaped knives made of flint obtained from Flint Ridge; these were finely wrought and ranged in length from three to four inches; see Figure 20. Between the right and left tibias, but nearer to the right, was found a tablet 4 inches long by 2½ inches wide and one-half inch thick. This tablet is made of a fine grained sandstone, the edges all being beveled, both sides being similar. On one side, near the center, are two long inden-

tations, both extending the long way of the tablet; also two other indentations at almost right angles to those extending the long way. This tablet was no doubt used in the manufacture of bone

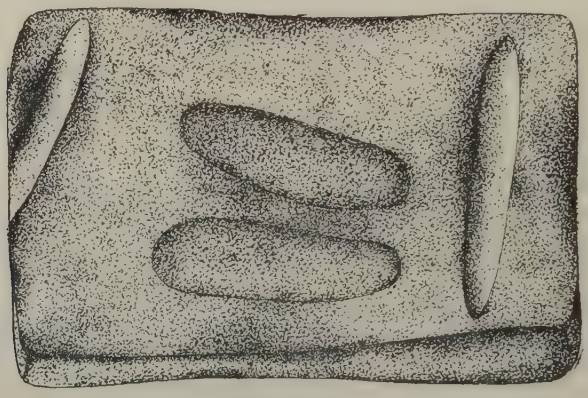


FIGURE 21.

implements and ornaments. Figure 21. To the side of the right tibia and directly opposite the tablet were found two leaf-shaped knives similar in every respect to those found at the feet; a large

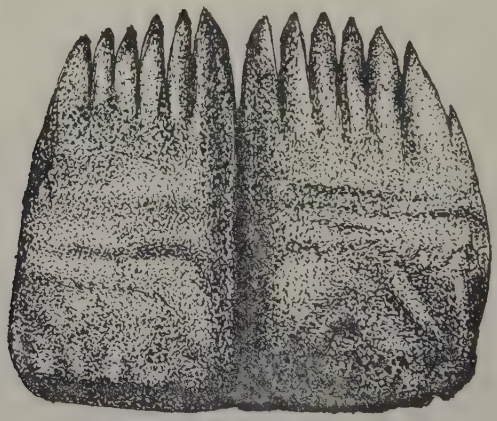


FIGURE 22.

slab of flint broken into shape preparatory to its being manufactured into a knife, and several scrapers made of flint. Near the last mentioned flint pieces three incisor teeth of the beaver were

FIGURE 23.

found; these were not perforated, neither did they show that they had been worked in any way, yet they could have been used as tools. With the beaver teeth were two pieces of rib bones, presumably those of the elk, one end of which had been cut square while the other was cut in the form of a comb, each piece having six teeth. The pieces were no doubt fastened together, as is shown by the drawing Figure 22, as they were in this position when found. They were carefully removed, and it was supposed at the time that the comb had been made of one piece of bone instead of two; each piece is 2 inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. On the outside of the left tibia were 11 large awls, all made of the shoulder blade of the elk; these were very beautifully wrought; see Figure 23. They range in length from 6 to 11 inches. With these awls was found a needle $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, one end having a very sharp almost round end but gradually tapering and flattening toward the other end, where it was pierced by a small hole $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter; see Figure 24. Around the head of the skeleton but mostly to the left were twelve awls made of the shoulder blade of the Virginia deer; these were in every respect similar to those found near the left tibia, and varied in length from 5 to 6 inches.

On each side of the head were found two perforated canines of the mountain lion; these were no doubt used for ear ornaments. Directly above the skeleton was placed a large quantity of bark, four

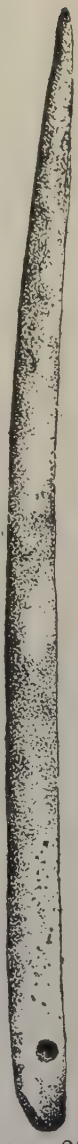


FIGURE 24

layers being distinctly visible, yet from the quantity that was found it is evident that many more layers of bark were placed there at the time of burial. Directly over this bark was a layer of ashes 3 inches in thickness; in these ashes were found the calcined bones of two distinct human skeletons, one being that of an adult while the other was that of a child. Various portions of the skull and of the large bones were found, showing that the human body had been cremated and the ashes and bones that were left had been placed over the grave. With these bones, were also found scattered through the ashes, the remains of the deer, elk, black bear, raccoon, otter, beaver, wild turkey, trumpeter swan and great horned owl; these bones were freely mingled with those of the human bones. The bones no doubt comprise the remains of a sacrifice made near this center grave in the great fireplaces spoken of, after which the ashes and calcined bones were gathered up and deposited over these remains. Immediately above the ashes was placed a layer of logs ranging in thickness from 5 to 7 inches; these were placed in the side of the grave and covered over with small sticks. Upon this covering of small sticks and immediately above the feet of the skeleton placed at the bottom of the grave, and at right angles to it, was the skeleton of a male adult 5 feet 8 inches in length. The skeleton was covered with a layer of bark; no implements or ornaments were placed with this burial. Finding the skeleton placed in this position might lead one to surmise that there had been a human sacrifice, and this sacrifice placed at the feet of the lower skeleton; yet nothing in the burial would show that such was the case. There might have been some little time elapsed between the first and second burials in this grave, yet no evidence was found to verify this fact. Immediately above the skeleton was placed another layer of logs, the logs being covered with small limbs; above this was another layer of logs with brush and small limbs placed over the top. It is evident that no soil was placed in this grave, and only the dirt was placed over the last layer of brush and the mound heaped over all; this is readily seen in the arched roof made by the dropping down of the superincumbent earth above, as the logs and sticks would rot away and leave the earth drop into the grave below.

Fifteen feet directly southwest of the center of the mound was found skeleton number seventeen, which was that of an adult male 5 feet 8 inches in length. The skeleton was placed in a sepulcher made of logs which consisted of two very large logs placed by the side of the body, and smaller logs placed over the top as a covering. This skeleton was noted for its singularly heavy bones. Upon the right arm had been placed a string of bear claws, fifteen in number; these had evidently been used as a bracelet.

Skeleton number nineteen was placed directly west of the center of the mound. It was that of an adult male 5 feet $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. Around the neck had been placed a string of beads; these were made of bone one-half inch in diameter and

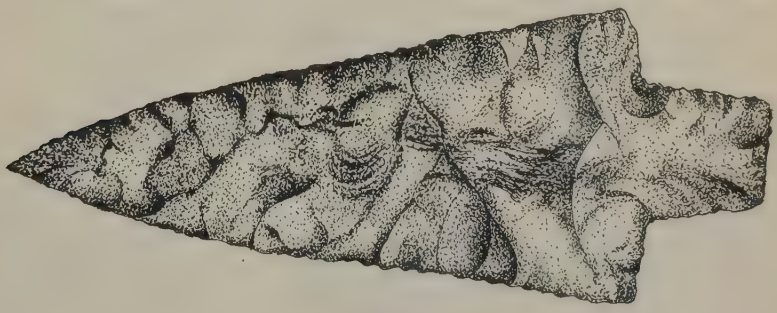


FIGURE 25.

one-eighth inch in thickness. These disks looked very much as though they had been sawed out, so perfectly were they made.

Skeleton number twenty was that of an adult male 5 feet $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, having very large bones. This was the largest skeleton found in the entire mound. Near the right wrist was a gorget, perforated with two holes similar in shape to Figure 10; this is made of limestone. In the right hand was a large spear 5 inches in length, and made of Flint Ridge chalcedony; see Figure 25. Near the left knee was found a tubular pipe 5 inches in length and very well made. The material of which this pipe is composed is clay, presumably fire clay, and is of the same material used in all of the pipes found in this mound. At the right knee was found three round stones which were made from diorite; they were 2, $1\frac{3}{4}$ and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches respectively in diameter. It is no

doubt but that these round stones were used in making some implement of warfare.

Skeleton number twenty-one, placed on the north side of the mound, was perhaps the richest of the mound finds. The skeleton was placed in a sepulcher made of very large logs; the one on the outside measured 17 inches in diameter and was 16 feet in length; the log which formed the inside of the sepulcher was 12¾ inches in diameter and 19 feet in length. The two logs were placed eight feet apart; the top was covered with smaller logs varying in diameter from 3 to 7 inches; these were placed very close together. Between the larger logs smaller poles and brush

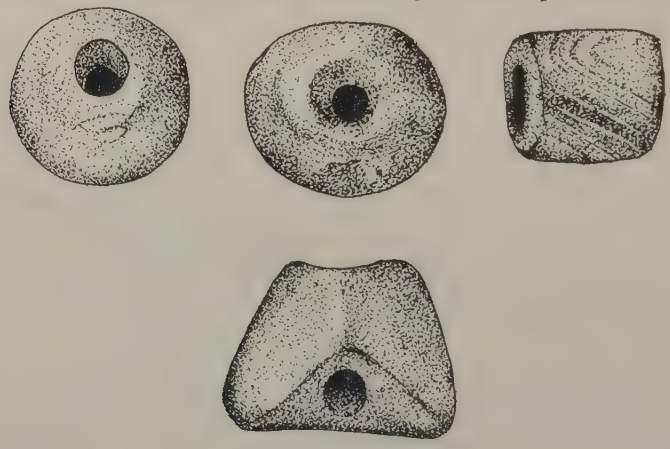


FIGURE 26

were placed. The skeleton was placed with its head to the east, and upon a covering of bark which seemed to envelope the entire bottom of the sepulcher. Implements and ornaments were promiscuously placed in this sepulcher. The beads were found very near the skeleton; about 500 of these were composed of shell, and about the same number of bone and fresh water pearls. Near the left knee were found very large beads made of shell; see Figure 26.

Here also was found an ornament made of shell, no doubt the effigy of a raccoon; see Figure 27. On the back of this effigy were two counter sunk holes for attachment. Near the head were found three spear points made of the antler of the

deer; seven arrowheads, and three knives made of chalcedony from Flint Ridge. On the right hand of the skeleton were found three arrowpoints made from the same material as the other seven. The pearl and bone beads were placed around the neck in three strings, while the shell beads were placd near the right wrist and seemed to have been attached to a coarse cloth which evidently

FIGURE 27.

surrounded the loins. Near the left hand was found an effigy pipe; see Figure 28, front view; Figure 29, side view; Figure 30, back view. This pipe is 8 inches in length, and is composed of clay, resembling the fire clay found in Scioto county, which is further south but in the same valley. The pipe is tubular in form, the hole extending the entire length of the body; the large opening is between the feet, having a hole $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter. Within an inch of the top of the head it begins to narrow down to a very small aperture $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter. The mouthpiece formed a part of the head dress of the image. The front part of the pipe is of a light gray in color while the back part is of a brick red. The specimen is covered with a deposit of iron ore; this appears in small blotches over the entire surface of the specimen, the one side of the face and body being more densely covered with it than the other parts of the pipe.

The effigy represents the human form in the nude state with the exception of the covering around the loins; this covering extends around the body and is tied in the back, the ends of the covering hang down and serve as ornaments. On the front of this covering is a serpentine or scroll-like ornamentation. From the lobe of each ear is hung an ear ornament which is quite large in proportion to the ear, and resembles very much the button-

(476)

FIGURE 28.

FIGURE 29.

FIGURE 30.

shaped copper ornaments which are so frequently found in the mounds of the Scioto valley. However, none of these ornaments have been found in this mound, but quite a number have been found in the immediate neighborhood.

The next skeleton found was on the west side of the mound. It was outside of the original mound and was in a fair state of preservation. It was that of an adult male, 5 feet 8½ inches in length. No implements or ornaments were placed with this skeleton.

To the north and outside of the original mound another skeleton was found; this was in a splendid state of preservation and the skeleton was removed in good condition. No implements or ornaments were placed with this skeleton.

SOME ERRORS CORRECTED.

BY CHARLES E. SLOCUM, M. D., PH. D., DEFIANCE, OHIO.

The following, regarding several historic places in northwestern Ohio, is submitted as a plea for greater care by writers and speakers that errors in historical data may lessen rather than increase:

FORT MIAMI, THE STILL-EXISTING EARTHWORKS OF WHICH ARE WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THE VILLAGE OF MAUMEE, OHIO.

The pamphlet containing the "Appeal of the Maumee Valley Monumental Association to the Congress of the United States," in the winter of 1885-86, reads, regarding Fort Miami, in part as follows: "* * * by order of Glencoe, Governor of Canada, it was re-occupied in 1785, as a military post * * * in 1795 it was again abandoned * * *."

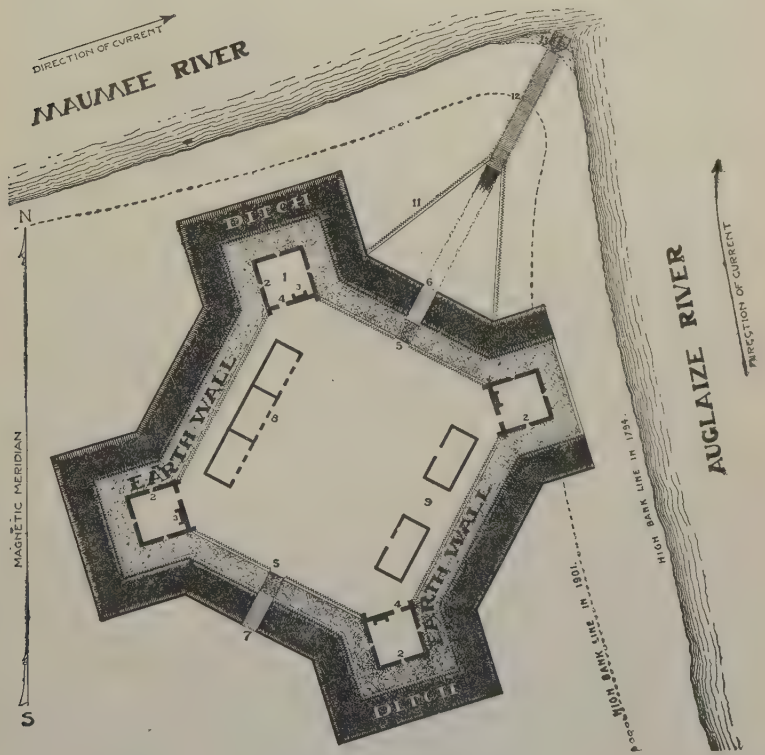
Whether these statements were copied, as they read in the pamphlet, from a former publication or not, is not known to the writer. Canada's Governor thus referred to bore the name Simcoe, not Glencoe, and the British did not build, nor re-occupy, Fort Miami in the year 1785. Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe, of good repute in the British army in the Revolutionary war, was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, under Lord Dorchester, from 1791 to 1794. He it was who built Fort Miami, and in April, 1794.

This fort was evacuated by the British garrison July 11, 1796, not in 1795 as stated in the pamphlet; and it was immediately occupied by a detachment of United States troops that was encamped near by for this purpose. It was soon thereafter abandoned on account of there being no need of a fortification so near (within seven miles direct line) of Fort Industry.

In the pamphlet containing "A Collection of Historical Addresses (relating to) the Battle Fields of the Maumee Valley, Delivered Before the Sons of the American Revolution, District of

Columbia Society, March 18, 1896," on page 24, Colonel W. H. Chase repeats the "Governor Glencoe" error.

It is probable that the name Simcoe was, at the start of this error, written by a person afflicted, or affected, with bad penman-



FORT DEFIANCE.

Ground Plan, From Studies and Surveys by Dr. Chas. E. Slocum.

ship and, possibly the compositor did the best he could in setting it "Glencoe." Thus the sin of writing illegibly is often the inception of errors that may be repeated by copyists to the end of time.

FORT DEFIANCE, ON THE HIGH POINT AT THE JUNCTION OF THE AUGLAIZE RIVER WITH THE MAUMEE, WITHIN THE PRESENT CITY OF DEFIANCE, OHIO.

Mr. John W. Van Cleve, of Dayton, Ohio, furnished to *The American Pioneer* for September, 1843, volume II, number IX, pages 386, 387, a sketch and description of the ground plan of Fort Defiance, made from the memory of his father who visited the place in October, 1794. While this sketch is, in some parts, a valuable contribution to the history of this, the strongest and most important fortification built by General Wayne, the writer calls attention to the earthworks, still preserved, in justification of the correctness of his draft of the relation of the blockhouses and ditches to the magnetic meridian and to the rivers as the bank lines exist today, and as they probably existed at the time of the building of the fort, shown by dotted lines. Mr. Van Cleve's draft has been copied into Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley,* and other publications. A comparison of it with the writer's survey, as shown by the accompanying engraving, is invited.

FORT INDUSTRY, WHICH STOOD NEAR THE MOUTH, AND NORTH BANK, OF SWAN CREEK, WITHIN THE PRESENT CITY OF TOLEDO, OHIO.

H. S. Knapp, in his *History of the Maumee Valley,* on page 93, states that General Wayne built Fort Industry immediately after the Battle of Fallen Timber. Lieutenant Boyer, the diarist of General Wayne's campaign in this northwest country, did not mention this fort; nor was it mentioned in the communication ten days after the Battle of Fallen Timber when General Wayne's command had returned to Fort Defiance. This communication did state, however, that "the Indians are well and regularly supplied with provisions from the British magazines, at a place called Swan Creek." All probabilities thus far considered by the writer point to its construction at a later date. In the *Historical Collections of Ohio,* by Henry Howe, volume II, page 148, Ohio Centennial Edition, it is stated that Fort Industry was built "about

the year 1800," which, in the opinion of the writer, is too late a date to name.

No authentic record relating to its establishment has thus far been obtainable from the War Office, or elsewhere, by the writer, who, from a study of the conditons likely to make a fortification necessary at that place, infers that it was built by, or under the orders of, General Wayne, immediately following the treaty at Greenville, in August, 1795. In this treaty important reservations of land were made for the United States, among them being one of twelve miles square which included the British Fort Miami and the lower part of the Rapids, and another reservation six miles square adjoining the other and embracing the banks of the Maumee river at its mouth. Title was thus secured from the former allies of the British to the land on which their fort stood, and to the prominent site, at Fort Industry, commanding the principal (river) approach to it. The inference is that Fort Industry was built immediately after securing title to these lands from the Aborigines, and before the proclamation of the Jay treaty, to neutralize the effects on the Aborigines of the British garrison at Fort Miami. Fort Miami was the best built fort of its time in the Northwest country. It was the last British stronghold influencing the Aborigines against American settlers in the Maumee Valley. Its location was the favorite one at that time, and, evidently, there would have been no need of building Fort Industry if Fort Miami had been vacant at the time, or then known soon to be vacated, for the United States troops to occupy. An important treaty with the Aborigines was held at Fort Industry in the year 1805, and probably the fort was soon thereafter abandoned by the United States.

Fort Winchester, at Defiance, Ohio.

The greatest error of all is the omission, by nearly all writers, of Fort Winchester from the list of historic places in the Maumee Valley. This large and strong military post was built by General James Winchester a few rods south of the ruins of Fort Defiance early in the War of 1812, and was of great importance throughout that war. For the history of this important post, see volume IX of this publication.

THE SITE OF GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT IN 1791.

The Western Christian Advocate of Cincinnati, issue of June 19, 1901, page 774, contains an account of the unveiling of the monument, June 14, 1901, to mark the site of Fort Washington. B. R. Cowen delivered the address, and the *Advocate* makes him say that General St. Clair "met with disastrous defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers," declaring that he was correctly reported. General St. Clair did not get nearer Fallen Timber than about 100 miles in direct line. His disastrous battlefield was in the southwestern part of the present Mercer county, Ohio, where General Anthony Wayne *recovered* the ground and built Fort Recovery in 1793, and where the village of that name now stands.

The *Advocate* further quotes Mr. Cowen as saying that General Wayne left Fort Washington with his army in 1794, which event should be written 1793.

The little book entitled "the Growth and History of Ohio," published in Norwalk, Ohio, in 1897, and put forth as one of the "Ohio Government Series, Prepared for Use in Schools, and for the General Reader," while a most concise and useful summary of Ohio history, contains mistakes that should not be permitted in an authoritative work. A few minutes given to an examination of this book reveals the following errors regarding places and dates in northwestern Ohio:

Maps on pages 5, 21 and 66 show the Blanchard River as the Auglaize.

The Fort Miami captured by Pontiac's sympathizers is placed on the lower Maumee River, instead of in its proper place at the head of the Maumee, site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana (page 13).

The site of the battlefield of Fallen Timber is given below that of Fort Meigs. It is above.

The date of the building of Fort Jefferson is given as 1793, two years too late.

The date of the building of Fort St. Marys is given as 1794, one year too early.

The date of the building of Fort Industry is given as 1794, which is too early.

The date of the building of Fort Meigs is given as 1812, one year too early.

On page 47 the first name of the notorious McKee is given as Andrew, whereas it is generally recorded as Alexander.

Fort Deposit is located "just south of the site of the present village of Waterville," which is correct; but when the writer adds "and near where Maumee and Perrysburg are now situated" (page 48), he goes several miles in the wrong direction.

There are many other variations, but enough are here noted to illustrate the looseness too often carried into historical ventures. These may be considered as minor matters by such writers and professed teachers, but history—authentic history—is founded on correct details; and it is understood that the function and mission of the OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY is to gather, and to conserve, the details of authentic history.

In closing these notes the writer desires to again, and even more urgently, declare against the parrot-like habit of using the misnomer "Indians" to designate the Aborigines of this country. The term Aborigines is correct, self-explanatory, and altogether preferable.

NOTES — GEOGRAPHICAL.

BY R. W. MCFARLAND, LL. D.

These notes are intended to draw attention to errors or slips which manage sometimes to get into print, and which may mislead the unwary. Attention is called to four such points.

FIRST.

It has been stated in the OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY that the United States military tract extended to the Ohio river. This is an error. See Vol. 2 U. S. Laws, page 565, act of June 1, 1796. The place of beginning is forty-two miles due west from the point on the north bank of the Ohio river where the west line of Pennsylvania crosses that river. Section 1 of the said act begins as follows: "That the surveyor general be, and he is hereby required to cause to be surveyed the tract of land beginning at the northwest corner of the seven ranges of townships, and running thence fifty miles due south, along the western boundary of said ranges; thence due west to the main branch of the Scioto river; thence up the main branch of the said river to the place where the Indian boundary line crosses the same; thence along the said boundary line to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum river, at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence up the said river to the point where a line, run due west from the place of beginning, will intersect the said river; thence along the line so run to the place of beginning."

So the United States Military Tract is about forty miles from the Ohio river.

SECOND.

It has been stated that the charter to the Virginia company extended from the thirty-seventh to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. It was from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree. The Connecticut company claimed the territory north of forty-one

degrees, and the south boundary of the Connecticut Western Reserve is at the parallel of forty-one. See the charter of the fourth year of James I., April 10, 1606, in Smith's History of Virginia. The words in the charter are "between the said four and thirty and one and forty degrees."

THIRD.

It is easy to become confused in locating the various Indian towns called "Chillicothe." It was a sort of common noun and was applied to several places; and the present city of Chillicothe was not one of them. But the Indian town which stood on or near the position of the present city of Piqua was called Chillicothe. Another village of the same name was three miles north of Xenia; another at Frankfort about twelve miles from the city of Chillicothe, and nearly west, and a village three miles north of the aforesaid city sometimes went by the same name.

The Indian town Piqua, which was the birthplace of Tecumseh, was six miles west of Springfield, Clark county, and was at or near the village of New Boston. It was not where the present city of Piqua is located. More than fifty years ago Colonel Rogers, one of the commissioners sent in 1806 by the Governor from Chillicothe, then the capital of the state, to Springfield, to treat with Tecumseh and other chiefs, described to me the appearance and bearing of this celebrated chief.

FOURTH.

It has been twice stated in this journal that six states were formed out of the old northwest territory. This also is an error. The ordinance declared that there should be not less than three nor more than five states. Besides the five, there is about one-third of Minnesota east of the Mississippi. On examination it will be found that the western boundary of that territory was really unknown, and was merely guessed at. It is true that the treaty of peace in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain gave the Mississippi as the western boundary, as did also the treaty of 1763 between Great Britain and France. The wording of the first named treaty shows that neither of the contracting

parties knew the position of that boundary. After tracing the line from the north side of Lake Superior along its present position to the southeast corner of the Lake of the Woods, the treaty says, "thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi." This is an impossible boundary. From the point named the direction to the Mississippi is not *west,* but *south,* and the distance is more than a hundred miles. In fact, years afterwards, when the true state of the facts became known the line was drawn *south* to the headwaters of the Mississippi. Subsequently when the parallel of forty-nine degrees was agreed on as the boundary between the British possessions and the United States, the line from the Mississippi to the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods extended nearly twenty miles north of the forty-ninth parallel. And this accounts for the jog in the northern boundary of Minnesota at the Lake of the Woods.

The St. Croix is a part of the western boundary of Wisconsin. Its source is not far from the west end of Lake Superior, and the travel from the missions on the south shore of Lake Superior in the 17th and 18th centuries was down the St. Croix to the Mississippi. Excursions into the interior of Minnesota were by the St. Peters (Minnesota) river, the Mississippi above the falls of St. Anthony being practically unused for travel. In this way it was but natural that men should think of the St. Croix as the west boundary of the Northwest Territory; and in 1848, when Wisconsin was formed into a state, the St. Croix became the western boundary to a point not far from Lake Superior. In 1832 Schoolcraft claimed to have found the head of the Mississippi, so long was it before the uncertainty gave way to positive knowledge.

THE GREAT SEAL OF OHIO.

BY S. S. KNABENSHUE.

Artists and engravers take great liberties with the coat-of-arms of the United States when they use it in illustration. Every one knows that the great seal of the nation contains the eagle, the shield, and the motto "E pluribus unum"; but there are comparatively few who are familiar with the design properly displayed, according to the letter of the statute. The same is true

THE GREAT SEAL OF 1866.

PRESENT SEAL OF OHIO.

of the state seals, and notably of that of Ohio. Some artist, a half century or more ago, in a newspaper cut, introduced an "ark" or flat-boat with a roof, which was the mode of transportation used by the settlers of southern Ohio a century and a quarter ago, and later. They came overland to Pittsburg and thence by ark down the Ohio. This innovation has been repeated so often that many people suppose the ark — or canal-boat, as it is often mistakenly called — belongs on the Ohio seal. It does not, and never had a place there.

The first legislature, after Ohio became a state, provided by law for a great seal. The act was passed March 25, 1803. It provided for the design as follows: "On the right side, near the bottom, a sheaf of wheat, and on the left a bundle of seven-

teen arrows, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain, over which shall appear a rising sun. The state seal to be surrounded by these words: 'The great seal of the State of Ohio.'"

The engraver who cut the seal departed slightly from the letter of the law. In place of a mountain he made three; and he also placed a river flowing along the base of the range. The state capital was then Chillicothe, and it is a local tradition there that he used the outline of Mount Logan, which stands east of the city, for the central peak, and represented the Scioto river, which washes the base of the hill. This story is very probably correct.

This remained the legal design of the state seal until 1866. Some one, who realized what a nice job it would be to replace all the seal presses used for county, judicial, notarial and other official seals, with new dies, succeeded in getting the design changed. The act of April 6, 1866, provided as follows:

"The coat-of-arms of the State of Ohio shall consist of the following device: A shield, upon which shall be engraved on the left in the foreground, a bundle of seventeen arrows; to the right of the arrows, a sheaf of wheat, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a range of mountains, over which shall appear a rising sun; between the base of the mountains and the arrows and the sheaf, in the left foreground, a river shall be represented flowing toward the right foreground. * * * At the bottom of the shield there shall be a motto, in these words: "Imperium in imperio."

It will be seen that the design really followed the old Chillicothe engraver's idea, in the points in which he did not follow exactly the law of 1803. The only really new thing was the addition of the motto. When its meaning — "An empire within an empire" — was fully understood, there was a great deal of objection. It savored of the old southern state rights doctrine, which was one of the dogmas settled adversely by the civil war, then just over.

The next General Assembly got rid of the motto by the act of May 9, 1868, which says: "That the coat-of-arms of the State of Ohio shall consist of the following device: A shield, in

form of a circle. On it, in the foreground, on the right, a sheaf of wheat; on the left, a bundle of seventeen arrows, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain range, over which shall appear a rising sun."

This simply restored the original design of 1803, except that it used the phrase "a range of mountains" instead of "a mountain." In engraving the seal, however, the river was left in, although not mentioned in the act, as will be seen by the cut.

Ohio was the seventeenth state admitted to the Union, therefore the bundle of seventeen arrows typifies the American Union; the sheaf of wheat is symbolic of agriculture, the state's original and still most important industry. The rising sun is an allusion to the advance of the state in wealth and power. The mountains are an allusion to the fact that this was the first state west of "the mountains" — that is, the Alleghanies. Though not authorized, the river is altogether appropriate, it referring to the Ohio river, from which the state was named.

[For note concerning great seal of Ohio and motto *Imperium in Imperio*, see page 392 *supra*. — EDITOR.]

EDITORIALANA.

E. O. Randall

TABLET ON SERPENT MOUND.

It will be recalled that during the visit of Prof. F. W. Putnam, of Harvard University, to the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Columbus August, 1899, that gentleman stated to the officers of our Society that if we would accept, repair and suitably preserve and guard the property known as Serpent Mound, then in the possession of the Peabody Museum, that the trustees of that institution would transfer to us said property. In December, 1899, in pursuance of this generous proposition, we began correspondence with Prof. Putnam as to the nature of the title we would receive, etc. After proper presentation of the matter to the Finance Committee, of the House of Representatives of the 74th General Assembly (March, 1900), that committee recommended, and the legislature gave us, in the appropriation bill, for the two ensuing years a suitable sum "For the repair and care of Serpent Mound." In view of this assurance of our ability to properly protect the property, Prof. Putnam brought the matter before the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and after the required deliberation and necessary proceedings, that institution forwarded us a deed to the property. This deed recites, "That this conveyance is upon the condition that the grantee corporation shall provide for the perpetual care of the Serpent Mound, and upon the further condition that the grantee corporation shall keep the Serpent Mound Park as a free public park forever, and the non-fulfillment or breach of said condition or either of them, shall work a forfeiture of the estate hereby conveyed and revest the same in the grantor and its successors. And upon the further conditions that the grantee Society shall place and maintain in the park a suitable monument or tablet upon which shall be inscribed the record of the preservation of the Serpent Mound and the transfer of the property to the State Society." The vote of transfer was made by the Harvard trustees in May, 1900, but the deed was acknowledged on the 8th day of October, 1900. It was recorded in the Recorder's Office, West Union, Adams county, November 22, 1900.

On January 9 last, 1902, the Secretary of the Society journeyed to the Mound, and was present to witness the erection of the tablet in the Mound Park, in accordance with the provisions of the deed. The site selected for the monument was the summit of the circular prehistoric mound which is located on the highest elevation of the park, and is about

300 feet south of the coiled tail of the great serpent. The mound is some ten feet high, conical in shape. The monument consists of a granite base some five feet by two. The tablet, like the base, is of the best quality of Barre Granite, a handsome grey granite from Vermont. The tablet is about six feet high, two feet thick, and four feet broad. The lettered side is polished like a marble surface, and the inscription which is neatly cut into the surface in large Roman letters, reads as follows:

THE SERPENT MOUND PARK.

The Serpent Mound was first described by Squier and Davis in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," 1848,

Saved from destruction in 1885 by

FREDERICK WARD PUTNAM,

Professor of American Archæology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

The Land included in the Park
was secured by subscription obtained by ladies of Boston in 1887,
when it was deeded to the Trustees of
The Peabody Museum, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Exempted from taxation by Act of Legislature of Ohio in 1888. Transferred by Harvard University, May, 1900, to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society for perpetual care as a Free Public Park.

It was a clear but bleak midwinter day, and standing upon the lofty plateau we could see across the valley for miles to the hazy hills of Highland county, one of the most picturesque scenes in southern Ohio. There were no formal ceremonies. The workmen tugged at the great granite slab while Mr. Daniel Wallace, the custodian of the Park, and the Secretary of the Society, the writer herewith, "stood around" and gazed at the landscape or the curious coils of the great earthen snake, the most mysterious and interesting relic of the mound builders either in the Ohio or the Mississippi Valley. Occasionally some visiting stranger or passing traveller would drive into the Park, look attentively at the weird and inexplicable serpentine structure with all the awe and amazement with which one could contemplate the Sphinx of Sahara, ask a few questions that nothing short of inspiration could answer, and then like the Arab with folded tent, silently "move off."

It was some seventeen years ago that Prof. F. W. Putnam, of Harvard, visited the mound for the first time; observing the ravages age and neglect were making with this most valuable archæological relic, he returned to Boston and wrote a letter to the *Boston Herald,* which was widely copied by the press, setting forth the value and condition of the serpent. Miss Alice Fletcher, a well known Indian enthusiast, brought the matter before some leading ladies of Boston at a lunch party given in Newport. The result was the issuing of a little circular, the assistance of Mr. Francis Parkman, the great historian, and Mr. Martin Brimer, the raising of some six thousand dollars and the purchase and presentation of the mound to, and its placement in the hands of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. Some eight thousand dollars in all were expended upon the purchase and repair of this mound before it passed into the hands of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, through the suggestion and influence of Prof. F. W. Putnam. Since its acquisition by the Society, the Serpent and Park have been thoroughly restored and placed in most excellent and attractive condition. A custodian is employed who resides close by and keeps constant watch over the property. It is quite needful that the custodian have a domicile on the grounds, and as soon as the funds are provided an inexpensive but suitable building will be erected for the occupancy of this officer. Surely not only Ohio and the Historical Society, but the students of Archæology and Ethnology throughout the country are to be congratulated that the great and unique remains of a bygone race are to be carefully preserved to students of the present and future. Hundreds of visitors resort to it each year, not alone from neighboring localities, but from all over the country, and indeed from countries beyond the seas. Scholars and curiosity seekers from the dominion of the "Old World" make pilgrimage to this wonderful structure, that was probably erected generations, perhaps centuries, before Columbus discovered the Western Continent.

BONAPARTE ALMOST A BUCKEYE.

"The French Five Hundred and Other People," is an attractive little volume of some three hundred pages from the pen of William G. Sibley, Editor of the *Tribune,* Gallipolis, Ohio. The first, and perhaps most noteworthy essay of the series is devoted to the settlement and first decade of the French colony at Gallipolis. That most romantic and unique project of the Scioto Company, in which an American syndicate sought to exploit what Mr. Sibley calls "An unholy enterprise," among the Parisians just previous to the outbreak of the French Revolution. As the writer says "the story of the deception of these people by American land speculators, is of touching interest. The Bastile had been destroyed, and the dark menace of the bloodiest revolution the world has ever

known loomed high above the horizon. At this most propitious of times for advancing schemes designed to swindle distressed, discouraged and peace-loving people, an American land syndicate opened 'with great parade,' an office in Paris, professing to own a vast tract that would afford an ideal refuge for gentlemen who were discontented with the conditions existing in France." Mr. Sibley then follows in a most racy semi-serious and semi-humorous way, the emigration of the French five hundred from the giddy capital of La Belle France to the Indian fastnesses of the La Belle Riviere. He traces their voyage across the Atlantic, their reception and assistance by the Virginians, their landing upon the site of Gallipolis on October 17, 1790, and their erecting eighty log cabins, "twenty in a row with a high stockade fence." Their subsequent pioneer privations, their encounters with the Indians, frogs, disease and their inconveniences of various degrees of magnitude and the final pathetic and futile outcome of the colony. Mr. Sibley is a good and trustworthy *reconteur.*

Two very interesting and curious statements are made by Mr. Sibley He relates in the biographical sketch of Lieutenant Francis D'Hebecourt that the latter was a friend and fellow student of Napoleon Bonaparte. After their graduation both decided to emigrate to America and there establish an empire. D'Hebecourt came with the colonists and was the first postmaster of Gallipolis, but Napoleon was persuaded by his family to remain in Europe. He was a lieutenant in the French army taking a professedly friendly interest in the French Revolution at the time of the departure from Paris of the Scioto Company. Mr. Sibley remarks "How the current of history might have been changed if the Little Corporal had adopted America as the scene of his career, and found opportunity to exercise his military genius in building up a despotism in the new world!" The author speaking of the religious affairs of the Gallipolis colony says that its settlement was "seriously considered at Rome as the seat of Roman Catholic episcopal authority for America, outranking both Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the estimation of Pope Pius VI and his advisers, as a suitable locality for so great an ecclesiastical dignity. The Abbe Boisnautier, a canon of St. Denys, in Paris, was actually appointed Bishop of Gallipolis, but these plans of the papal government were abandoned soon after, either because the defective titles held by the French checked emigration, or for some other reason known only to the church authorities."

Mr. Sibley is entitled to the credit of having produced a most readable contribution to Ohio history. The other three essays of his book are entitled "The Story of Freemasonry," "Bronze John of Gallipolis" — an account of the yellow fever infection at Gallipolis in 1878 and "Cousins of Suicide."

"THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA."

Mr. Charles A. Hanna is the author of a most complete and exhaustive work in two volumes, from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons, entitled "The Scotch-Irish, or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America." The author states these volumes are designed to serve as an introduction to a series of historical collections which he expects hereafter to publish relating to the Scotch-Irish settlements in America. They are not intended as a history of the Scotch-Irish people. Mr. Hanna is a writer of high scholarly and literary attainments. His work, while a vast mass of biographical, genealogical and historical data, is one of the greatest value and interest. His material is well arranged and made thoroughly accessible by a most complete and satisfactory index. Large portions of his work afford pleasure and profit to the general reader, as well as to the American student of history. That is suggested by such chapters as these: "The Scotch-Irish in the American Revolution;" "The Scotch-Irish and the Constitution," and the "Scotch-Irish in American Politics." He also accurately relates the influence and achievements of the Scotch in the great periods of English history up to the absorption of Scotland into the British Kingdom. It goes without saying that this work written by Mr. Hanna, *con amore*, makes a most brilliant showing for the sturdy race of Wallace and Bruce, and for its participation in the earlier settlements and later foundation of the American Republic. He says: "That the people of the Scotish race, mostly born in the north of Ireland, or their children or their grandchildren, comprised about one-fifth of the total white population of the American Colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution. In proportion to their relative strength, they took a more important part in that struggle and in all the leading events connected with American History since that time than any other race. They furnished more than one-fourth of Washington's generals and more than one-half of the leading officers of the late Civil War, as well as a large proportion of the leading statesmen of the country since 1776, including one-half of the Presidents." The work embraces, not only a general outline of the part taken by men of Scotch descent in the history of America, but also an excellent summary of the history of Scotland from the earliest time to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Mr. Hanna, of course, gives in exhaustive detail an account of the emigration and settlement of Scotch-Irish in the Colonial communities in early America. Mr. Hanna's work is worthy more space than can be given in these pages. He takes to task the one-sidedness of the New England-American historians, and their often unconscious misstatements of the number of troops and political influence of the different early colonies in the formation of the Union. That is their ignoring of the proper claims of the south and west during the formation period and particularly that of the Revolution. He shows how the statistics of en-

listment from different New England states were duplicated and juggled, so as to give certain colonies apparent undue importance in the aggregate result. Mr. Hanna is a painstaking statistician. His book is a veritable encyclopedia of facts and figures in early American history. Some of his sketches of royal personages and eminent Americans, are graphic portraitures, done with a skillful hand and infused with an artistic instinct.

"RECORDS OF THE PAST."

There are magazines galore. They spring up like mushrooms. It is the age and country of periodicals. They are, of course, good, bad and indifferent, both in purpose, matter and form, but among the new births in this field one is deserving of special notice and unstinted commendation. It is a new monthly starting with the January number, 1902, entitled "Records of the Past." Its purpose is to gather and publish the work of exploration and historical research in the Americas, Asia, Africa and Europe. It is published at Washington, D. C., where the very best opportunity is afforded for material for such a publication. It is edited by the Rev. Henry Mason Baum, D. C. L., assisted by Prof. Frederick Bennett Wright, son of Prof. G. Frederick Wright, of Oberlin. The publication is produced in the highest typographical art with numerous elaborate illustrations, maps, charts, etc. Part second for February, for instance, has a most intensely interesting and informing article on "Ancient Corinth Uncovered." A complete chart of that ancient historic city and many fine photographs of the ancient remains, taken during the recent tour through the orient of Prof. Wright, embellishes the text. Some of the articles in the first three numbers are: "Discovery of the Yucatan by the Portuguese;" "Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest;" "The Rosetta Stone;" "Past American Antiquities;" "Archæological Interest in Asiatic Russia;" "Pompeii, Its Life and Art." This monthly is sure to take very high and popular rank, not only with scholars and students in history and antiquity, but with the intelligent readers throughout the country. Such a magazine has a distinct field, and there are none better qualified to properly conduct such a publication than those who have the "Record of the Past" in charge. The annual subscription price is $2.00.

"DOWN HISTORIC WATER WAYS."

From the press of McClurg & Co., Chicago, comes a little volume "Down Historic Water Ways, or Six Hundred Miles of Canoeing upon Illinois and Wisconsin Rivers," by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Mr. Thwaites is widely and favorably known to the American reading public. He is the distinguished Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a

Society which stands in the front rank of such institutions in this country, occupying that enviable position mainly through the influence and scholarship of Mr. Thwaites. This little book is a genial mixture of travel and history, and does for the Illinois and Wisconsin rivers what Mr. Thwaites, a year or two ago, did for the Ohio in his volume entitled "Afloat on the Ohio, A Historical Pilgrimage of a Thousand Miles in a Skiff from Redstone to Cairo." Mr. Thwaites is not only a painstaking student of history and an indefatigable investigator of its original sources, but is also a lover of nature, and in these two later books he happily combines his tastes in these directions. It is pertinent for us to remark in this connection that the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society is one of the richest in literature pertaining to Ohio of any library in the country. And it is a sad commentary upon the public spirit and enterprise of the people of our own state, that we have permitted this great historical storehouse to be erected at Madison, rather than at Columbus. One of the chief reasons of this anomalous condition is that the fund dispensing powers of Wisconsin have ever dealt most generously and appreciatively with their state Society. But the pristine time of the Ohio Historical Society is in the near future. The people of the state are becoming more and more aware of, and responsive to, the work of our Society, and each legislature is the more inclined to grant the needed assistance in furthering our purposes.

"STORY OF THE WESTERN RESERVE."

There has come to our notice a little brochure entitled "The Story of the Western Reserve of Connecticut," by William Stowell Mills, LL. B., formerly a resident of Lake county, Ohio, now of Brooklyn, New York. The little book is a very thorough but concise historical sketch of the origin, geographical extent and productions of the Western Reserve, and by productions we mean not merely agricultural and other material, but especially racial, the sturdy New Englanders who were transplanted from old Connecticut to the Buckeye state, the part they played in the history of early Ohio, and the numerous and illustrious descendants of the first settlers. The Western Reserve has been to Ohio what Attica was to Greece, namely, the great center of its culture, character and strength. Mr. Mills' little volume is a compendium of valuable data.

HONORARY AND LIFE MEMBERS OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

*Baird, Prof. S. F., Washington, D. C.
Bancroft, Hon. Hubert Howe, San Francisco, Cal.
De Reune, Mrs. Mary, Augusta, Ga.
Gladden, Washington, D. D., LL. D., Columbus.
*Howe, Henry, Columbus.
Nicholson, Jno. P., Pittsburg, Pa.
Putnam, Prof. F. W., Cambridge, Mass.
*Smucker, Isaac, Newark.
Winslow, Rev. Dr. Wm. Copley, Boston, Mass.
*Whittlesey, Col. Chas., Cleveland.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Anderson, Judge Jas H.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Andrews, John W.	Columbus	Ohio.
Archer, E. H.	Columbus	Ohio.
Arnett, Rev. B. W.	Wilberforce	Ohio.
Avery, Hon. Elroy M.	Cleveland	Ohio.
*Baldwin, Judge C. C.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Bareis, Geo. F.	Canal Winchester	Ohio.
Barnes, Harley	Painesville	Ohio.
Barney, E. J.	Dayton	Ohio.
Bartholomew, Prof. Geo. K.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
Baum, J. E.	Bourneville	Ohio.
Bell, Dr. Clark	39 Broadway, New York City.	New York.
Beatty, Gen. John	Columbus	Ohio.
Brinkerhoff, Gen. R.	Mansfield	Ohio.
*Brown, Benj. S.	Columbus	Ohio.
Brown, Thos. J.	Waynesville	Ohio.
Bruhl, Dr. Gustav	Cincinnati	Ohio.
*Brice, Hon. Calvin S.	Lima	Ohio.
Brown, Clarence	Toledo	Ohio.
Bushnell, Hon. Asa S.	Springfield	Ohio.
Bushnell, Martin B.	Mansfield	Ohio.
Burdell, Wm. F.	Columbus	Ohio.
Butterworth, Irvin	Denver	Colorado.
Buchwalter, Edward L.	Springfield	Ohio.
Burgess, Solon	Cleveland	Ohio.
Chambers, Prof. Geo. A.	Columbus	Ohio.
Carpenter, Dr. W. B.	Columbus	Ohio.

* Deceased.

Connelly, W. E.	Topeka, 717 Clay St.	Kansas.
Couden, A. N.	Morrow, Warren Co.	Ohio.
*Collins, W. A.	Toledo	Ohio.
*Clark, Robert	Cincinnati	Ohio.
Coover, A. B.	Roxabell, Ross Co.	Ohio.
*Conger, Hon. A. L.	Akron	Ohio.
Cowen, Warren	Cincinnati, 411 E. Fourth St.	Ohio.
Cooper, Dr. Albert.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Cutler, Rev. Carroll.	Charlotte	North Car.
Curtis, S. H.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Curry, John	San Francisco, 444 Bryant St.	California.
Dahlgreen, John V.	New York City, 144 W. 78 St.	New York.
Darling, Gen. Chas. W.	Utica	New York.
*Dawes, Maj. E. C.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
Dana, Wm. F.	Belpre	Ohio.
De Peyster, Gen. J. Watts.	Tivola	New York.
Evans, Nelson W.	Portsmouth	Ohio.
*Falconer, Dr. Cyrus.	Hamilton	Ohio.
Ferris, Aaron A.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
Follett, Hon. M. D.	Marietta	Ohio.
*Force, Manning F.	Sandusky	Ohio.
Foraker, Hon. J. B.	Washington	Dist. Col.
Foster, Hon. Charles.	Fostoria	Ohio.
Galloway, Hon. Tod B.	Columbus	Ohio.
Gard, Dr. D. H.	Columbus	Ohio.
Garfield, Mrs. Lucretia R.	Mentor	Ohio.
Gardner, Hon. Geo. W.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Galbreath, Hon. C. B.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Gilmore, Judge W. J.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Gordon, W. J.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Greer, H. H.	Mt. Vernon	Ohio.
*Graham, Albert A.	Columbus	Ohio.
Hay, Hon. John.	Washington	Dist. Col.
Harris, Hon. Stephen R.	Bucyrus	Ohio.
Hallwood, H. S.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Handy, Truman P.	Cleveland	Ohio.
*Harvey, Hon. Thos. W.	Painesville	Ohio.
Harris, Israel H.	Waynesville	Ohio.
Hartman, Dr. S. B.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Hayes, Gen. Rutherford B.	Fremont	Ohio.
Hart, Dr. B. F.	Marietta	Ohio.
Hart, Dr. F. O.	West Unity	Ohio.
Hanna, Hon. M. A.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Heilman, W. T.	Canal Winchester	Ohio.

* Deceased.

Heer, F. J.	Columbus	Ohio.
Hill, Pollard	Bourneville	Ohio.
Hills, B. D.	Columbus	Ohio.
Holmes, Col. J. T.	Columbus	Ohio.
Holden, L. E.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Hubbard, R. N.	Columbus	Ohio.
Huggins, Hon. E. N.	Columbus	Ohio.
Hulbert, Archer B.	Rome	Ohio.
Hunter, Wm. H.	Chillicothe	Ohio.
Jeffrey, J. A.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Ide, Mrs. Harriet E.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Jewett, H. J.	Landsdown	Maryland.
Jones, Mrs. E. P.	Findlay	Ohio.
Katzenberger, Geo. A.	Greenville	Ohio.
Kilbourne, Col. James.	Columbus	Ohio.
Kling, A. H.	Marion	Ohio.
*King, Hon. Rufus.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
King, Rev. Isaac.	Columbus	Ohio.
Keifer, Gen. J. Warren.	Springfield	Ohio.
Loving, Dr. Starling.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Lindenberg, Henry	Columbus	Ohio.
McCurdy, Robert	Youngstown	Ohio.
McFarland, Prof. Robt. W.	Oxford	Ohio.
McGettigan, John E.	Indianapolis	Indiana.
McIntire, Hon. A. R.	Mt. Vernon	Ohio.
McMillan, Prof. Reuben.	Canfield	Ohio.
McMillin, Emerson	New York City.	New York.
MacLean, Prof. J. P.	Franklin	Ohio.
MacFerran, David.	Allegheny	Penna.
Mahoney, W. A.	Columbus	Ohio.
Massie, Hon. D. M.	Chillicothe	Ohio.
Mathews, E. B.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
Martzolff, C. L.	New Lexington	Ohio.
Miller, John	Marietta	Ohio.
Miller, O. A.	Columbus	Ohio.
Miller, T. Ewing.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Miles, W. Y.	Columbus	Ohio.
Mills, John	Marietta	Ohio.
Miami University	Oxford	Ohio.
*Moore, Rev. Wm. E.	Columbus	Ohio.
Moore, C. H.	Clinton	Illinois.
Monfort, E. R.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
Morrison, Prof. N. J.	Wichita	Kansas.
Mulford, John M.	Columbus	Ohio.

* Deceased.

Merrill Mrs. M. E. R.	Columbus	Ohio.
Moorehead, Warren K.	Andover	Mass.
Moses, Dr. Thomas F.	Urbana	Ohio.
Neil, Robert S.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Neil, Robert E.	San Raphael	California.
Nash, Hon. Geo. K.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Noble, Henry C.	Columbus	Ohio.
Outhwaite, Hon. Joseph H.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Orton, Dr. Edward.	Columbus	Ohio.
Patton, Col. A. G.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Parrott, Charles	Columbus	Ohio.
Peaslee, Prof. John B.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
*Peters, Oscar G.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Perkins, Hon. Henry B.	Warren	Ohio.
Prince, Prof. B. F.	Springfield	Ohio.
*Pocock, Dr. Eli J.	Shreve	Ohio.
Pool, Harwood R.	New York City	New York.
Powell, Hon. Thomas E.	Columbus	Ohio.
Platt, Rutherford H.	Columbus	Ohio.
Putnam, Douglas	Marietta	Ohio.
Randall, E. O.	Columbus	Ohio.
Reeve, Dr. J. C.	Dayton	Ohio.
Ranney, Hon. H. C.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Rickly, Samuel S.	Columbus	Ohio.
Rice, Rev. Wm. H.	Gnadenhutten	Ohio.
Riordan, Miss Anna E.	Columbus	Ohio.
Rodgers, Richard H.	Springfield	Ohio.
*Schueller, Dr. J. B.	Columbus	Ohio.
Scott, Rev. Wm. H.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Sessions, Francis C.	Columbus	Ohio.
Shawan, Prof. J. A.	Columbus	Ohio.
Shepard, Dr. Wm.	Shepard	Ohio.
*Sherman, Hon. John	Washington	Dist. Col.
Smead, Isaac D.	Cincinnati	Ohio.
*Smith, Geo. Plumer.	Philadelphia	Penna.
Sinks, Geo. W.	Columbus	Ohio.
Siebert, John	Columbus	Ohio.
Siebert, Louis	Columbus	Ohio.
Sloane, Hon. Rush R.	Sandusky	Ohio.
*Smith, Geo. P.	Philadelphia	Penna.
Smith, Hon. Wm. Henry.	Lake Forest	Illinois.
Smith, Hiram R.	Mansfield	Ohio.
Southworth, Prof. Geo. C.	Salem	Ohio.
Smythe, A. H.	Columbus	Ohio.

* Deceased.

Stiles, Henry C.	Cleveland	Ohio.
Strong, Hon. W. L.	New York City	New York.
Stein, Dr. G. S.	Columbus	Ohio.
Sturgis, Miss Susan M.	Mansfield	Ohio.
Swayne, Gen. Wager	New York City	New York.
Swayne, Hon. Noah H.	Toledo	Ohio.
Thresher, Brainerd B.	Dayton	Ohio.
Thresher, E. M.	Dayton	Ohio.
Tallmadge, Frank	Columbus	Ohio.
Thompson, Rev. H. A.	Dayton	Ohio.
Thompson, Dr. Wm. O.	Columbus	Ohio.
Thomas, Samuel	New York City	New York.
Tiffin, Diathea M.	Chillicothe	Ohio.
Tod, Dr. Joseph H.	Wooster	Ohio.
Townshend, Miss Harriet N.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Townshend, Norton S.	Columbus	Ohio.
*Thurman, Hon. Allen G.	Columbus	Ohio.
Vance, Hon. John L.	Gallipolis	Ohio.
Vincent, O. B.	Vincent	Ohio.
Vincent, H. C.	Marietta	Ohio.
Ward, J. Q. A.	New York City	New York.
Walker, W. R.	Columbus	Ohio.
Warner, Gen. A. J.	Marietta	Ohio.
White, Hon. E. E.	Columbus	Ohio.
White, Henry C.	Cleveland	Ohio.
*Williams, Israel	Hamilton	Ohio.
*Wing, Hon. Lucius B.	Newark	Ohio.
Wright, Gen. Geo. B.	Columbus	Ohio.
Wright, Prof. Geo. F.	Oberlin	Ohio.
Wetmore, P. M.	Columbus	Ohio.
Wood, Kenneth D.	Columbus	Ohio.
Wooster University Library.	Wooster	Ohio.

* Deceased.